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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY 1937

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE CINEMA IN INDIA ITS SCOPE AND POSSIBILITIES

BY DEWAN SHARAR

To understand the part that films play in the life of the Indian people, a glimpse at their history is necessary. In the early days of motion pictures all the films shown in India were imported. But she soon began to make her own, and though the first of these indigenous products were tentative and unskilled, they were warmly received. The very first Indian film to be produced was *Harshchandra*, in 1913. The industry grew—awkwardly, perhaps, at first, hampered by very many difficulties and drawbacks, but it kept on undaunted nevertheless, and all the time improved perceptibly.

In 1927-28 the Government of India appointed an Indian Cinematograph Committee to investigate the state and potentialities of the growing film industry in India. It carried out its task thoroughly and with the greatest success, making the most exhaustive enquiries, and putting many valuable suggestions and recommendations before the Government. Unfortunately, these—with the single important exception of a rebate on imported educational films—were not taken up. Since then, owing to the introduction of the talking film, the conditions of the film industry have altered greatly, and only a few of the conclusions reached by the Committee would apply today.

In India, the advent of the talking picture made a difference even more revolutionary than it produced in the West. This was largely due to the language problem. The majority of the films

then being shown in India were still British, American, or Continental. The silent films, being of necessity obliged to tell their story satisfactorily in dumb show, with no more help than a few captions, were equally comprehensible to all beholders, of what ever nationality. But the introduction of the spoken word altered all that. At least half the story was now told by the dialogue and not the action. This inevitably spoiled the enjoyment of the vast number of uneducated or semi-educated Indians who understood no language but their own. Add to this the age-old and insistent canon of Indian art that any play, no matter what the manner of its presentation, should include songs—and it will be seen how great a demand was instantly created for films made specially to the requirements of purely Indian audiences. This meant films constructed in obedience to the laws of tradition, showing Indian people speaking in their own tongue and behaving in accordance with their own standards.

INDIAN SOUND FILMS

Such a demand inevitably created a supply. The film producing companies already in existence—they were not many—after waiting a little while to make sure that the innovation was likely to be permanent, turned their attention to talking films, and other people, realizing how profitable a prospect lay within their reach, hastened to take advantage of it also. The tremendous success and popularity of *Alam Ara*, the first Indian sound-film to be produced, was a great stimulus to the Indian film world. New companies sprang into being with great rapidity, some well capitalized and equipped, others less so, but nearly all goaded by the same urge—to make as many Indian pictures as possible, as quickly as possible, and sell them to the eager market.

That was seven years ago, but the situation is much the same today. Speaking broadly, it does not make for the highest quality of pictures. True, there are serious-minded companies in existence, both large and small, which are wise enough to combine art, sincerity, and a business sense, and proceed unhurryingly to give of their best, and the pictures they create are outstanding—so far as India is concerned. Moreover, they have found markets not only

in their own country, but in Burma, Ceylon, British Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, Indo-China, East Africa, South Africa (where there is a considerable Indian population), the West Indies, the Fiji Islands, Mauritius, and Aden. But the fact remains, and must be faced, that as yet no entirely Indian picture, produced in India, with Indian directors, actors, and technicians, has been good enough to be sold and shown in the West.

It will be seen, then, that the Indian motion picture industry has made a good deal of growth, but very little progress. It *has* progressed, of course. Not long ago, on the Indian stage or screen, women's parts were played as a matter of course by boys or even young men, because acting was considered a shameful profession for women. Possibly the influx of European and American films has been responsible for the partial breaking down of this prejudice. Even now, however, most of the Indian women who appear on the screen are drawn from the dancing girl class. A few notable exceptions are those of special films in which cultured Indian ladies have consented to appear.

While films of poor quality have sufficed and still suffice the uneducated masses, who are not critical, it is obvious that they will not satisfy educated Indians, whose artistic tastes are high. Moreover, it must be remembered that the indigenous product has ever since its inception been shown side by side with American and British films, mostly of very high quality. The respective reactions of the two types of Indian audience are interesting. The illiterate filmgoer prefers a bad Indian film to a good imported one, because he can understand it all. The educated filmgoer compares the two, not without regret, and would immeasurably rather see a *good* Indian film than either. Unfortunately these, judged from the accepted standards, are still rare. In this connection it is significant that at the recent elections in India, when Congress decided to have a film made for the purposes of propaganda, they so far disregarded their own slogan of *Swadeshi* (that is, literally, Indigenous products only) as to give the order to an American firm.

TRAINING AND ORGANIZATION

The reason is emphatically not lack of ability. The ability is there, but it needs organizing, training, and guiding into the proper channels. Perhaps the most important of these needs is training. The Indian motion picture industry is suffering from a grave dearth of skilled technicians. We have in India a wide variety of scenery—beautiful, dramatic, intriguing, strange—we have a land full of ancient and magnificent buildings, unmatched elsewhere, we have a storehouse of history, legend, and literature which is a veritable treasury for the screen writer. We have women beautiful enough, young men handsome enough, and older folk with enough character depicted on their faces, to compete with any film stars of the Western world, all capable of fine acting, given the right directors. But unhappily good technical directors are scarce in India, and so are good camera men, scenario-writers, electricians and printers and cutters. There is also a lack of organization, in particular of properly organized capital.

It is sad but true that a good many young men with a few thousand rupees to invest in a career go blithely in for film producing because it looks easy (the other man's job always does), and it seems to promise fun. To those who succeed—as, without any particular justification, they are quite sure they will—it offers large, quick rewards in money and fame. They do not realize until too late that they not only need an artistic sense—sometimes they start without even that—but also technical qualifications and experience. So they either fail, sometimes tragically, or they struggle along, making pictures only suited to the indiscriminating, or in a few cases they succeed within certain narrow limits. Enthusiasm is good, but it is no substitute for technical knowledge.

Therefore, until recently, American and British films have predominated in India. I am now informed on credible authority that the proportion is changing, and that lately the number of Indian films shown in India has been at least equal to that of the American or British.

Of the two last named, the majority are American because America has been much more active on the business side than the

United Kingdom, especially in the past. A chain of American film distributing agencies, elaborately organized, and staffed by resident representatives, runs right through India, and has been established there for years. Until comparatively recently most of the British firms have been content to leave their distribution to these agents, without employing a single direct representative of their own. As a result, British films have been, and still are, notably in the minority, in 1935 36 only 2,500,000 feet of exposed film were imported into India from Great Britain, as compared with 4,500,000 feet from the United States. Happily there are signs that British producers are beginning to awaken to this state of affairs, and to realize the unwisdom of neglecting so large a market, but unfortunately the awakening process is still very slow. It must also be remembered that they have much to compete with. I wish it were possible to encourage them by some measure of Government protection or Imperial preference especially as the output of American films is so much greater than England's. I understand that America's total yearly production is between seven and eight hundred films, as compared with at the most a hundred and fifty to two hundred in the United Kingdom.

There is a constant and growing demand in India for good British films, in spite of the advantage gained by the Americans over so many years. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Generally speaking, I think, British films are easier for Indian audiences to understand. For one thing, they present a more understandable world. Indian people know the Englishman, they and he have lived together for a long time, and, in the case of the upper classes, live in precisely the same style, and even those who do not share the same mode of living are—apart from the folk in remote villages—accustomed to his outlook, his reactions to life and its contingencies, his design for living.

The American, on the other hand with his totally different mental processes, his behaviour, which is liable to appear irrational, and his frequently startling manners, is sometimes difficult of comprehension. So, on occasion, is his language, which in films dealing with lower-class American life often diverges so widely from the English tongue, what with its slang, its pro-

nunciation, and its differing use of words, as to make considerable portions of it bewildering even to English people. Another important reason why Indian audiences prefer British films is that the latter are definitely more restrained in depicting love scenes. Indians—especially Indian women, whose modesty is proverbial—do not like violent or prolonged love making on stage or screen, they prefer such matters to be touched on with delicacy. Nor, incidentally, are scenes laid in American law courts, with their travesty of justice, bullying of prisoners, and uproariously behaved counsel, in harmony with either Indian or British conceptions of the law and its administration. On the other hand—and quite apart from their excellent quality and high entertainment value—American films have the advantage of giving their audiences a glimpse and more than a glimpse of the life and culture of another country, thus in addition to England.

In this connection it may be noted that in the days of silent pictures Continental productions were plentiful in Indian cinemas. Since the advent of the talking film there are practically none. All the educated classes in India read and write and speak English, which is their *lingua franca*, and it is understood in speech by a growing though still very small proportion of the ordinary people. The percentage familiar with French or German is, from the exhibitor's point of view, so small as to be negligible. Undoubtedly the English film is a valuable means of teaching the English language.

VAST POSSIBILITIES

The truth is that the film industry in India is still in its childhood, if not its infancy, and needs the right kind of nurture at its present stage of growth. Given this, it should before long be more than worthy to hold its own internationally, and eventually to occupy a position not unworthy of the unique place which Indian art holds in the artistic world.

Nowhere are the scope and possibilities of the cinema greater than in India. I do not mean from the entertainment viewpoint alone, though that is an important one. Recreation is a necessity for everyone, and in India the people who need it most—the

worker who has toiled hard all day, the housewife whose life is sequestered and uneventful, and others who have little money to spend on amusement—are not catered for as they are in England. But as a means of instruction, of fostering the appreciation of art, and of promoting inter racial understanding, there is no medium to compare with the film, supposing its potentialities to be properly explored and used. Moreover, its full exploitation is no mere Utopian dream. On the contrary, so vast and eager is the market, it could and should be a thoroughly practical paying proposition.

The principal needs of the Indian motion picture industry are two—first, trained directors and technicians, as I have said; secondly, cinemas. It is a fact that there is still a notable shortage of picture houses in India. The big cities are adequately supplied, indeed, some are over supplied, but the small provincial towns have few or none, while many of the people of the 700,000 villages in India have never seen a talking picture, some have never even seen a moving picture of any sort. The reason for this is that most Indian cinemas are run by individual enterprise and the majority of people with capital to invest are shy of risking it in what they consider to be an uncertain sort of venture. There are at present in India 110 film producing concerns, 99 distributing concerns: the capital invested is about £3,750,000, and 25,000 people find employment. Yet a recent figure shows that the number of cinemas in the whole of India is only 670, as compared with over 4,600 in the United Kingdom.

PROVIDING CINEMAS

I have two suggestions to make with regard to the industry. One is, that it would be well worth while for some well-established British firm to turn its attention to India, where the market is so large and the opportunities are so great.

The first thing to do would be to co-operate with the municipal corporations and governing bodies of each Province, and build a circuit of first-class cinemas in the important towns. This calls for less outlay than might be supposed, since the cost of building is far less in India than it is here, land, labour, and materials

being cheaper and more easily obtained. A super-cinema could be erected in any provincial town at approximately one tenth of what it would cost in England. These cinemas would be used for showing both British and Indian films, the firm's own products side by side with the best of the current Indian pictures, thereby meeting the needs of the picturegoer, and augmenting both their own and the Indian firm's market.

At the same time this enterprising firm would be setting up studios in India, there to collaborate with the best of Indian talent, combining their own technical skill with the artistry and beauty of the Indian side, making pictures to be shown at their own and other cinemas and, in many cases, exported as well. There would be unlimited scope for pictures of purely Indian appeal as well as those featuring both British and Indian artistes.

A further branch of the business would be the important one of catering for the villages where cinemas are unknown and many of the inhabitants have never seen a moving picture in their lives. Here a fleet of vans, fully equipped with the means of setting up a temporary cinema—marquee, screen, projecting and sound apparatus, etc.—in charge of competent operators, would be necessary. The potentialities of this sideline alone are greater than English people realize. It is, of course, nothing new in India, it has been carried on for years, but to a surprisingly small extent, owing mainly to the vastness of the country.

INDIAN SUSCEPTIBILITIES

I have no wish to minimize the difficulties with which such a firm would meet. They are many and great, but none of them are insuperable. Perhaps the most formidable is the problem which confronts every film-maker in India—that of catering correctly for *all* Indian tastes, and avoiding offence to Indian prejudices. The name of the latter is legion. There are racial, caste, and, above all, religious susceptibilities to be considered. No screen story is proof against them. They permeate history, they crop up in modern everyday life. What delights one section of the community may be the deadliest insult to another. Not only

Western producers—who cannot, after all, be expected to understand all the ramifications of the Indian social system—but enlightened Indian producers who ought to know better, have fallen victims to this abiding danger. Sometimes they have done it through no fault of their own, sometimes they have brought it upon themselves.

There are many ways in which an enthusiastic, short-sighted producer (or playwright, or novelist, or journalist or anybody else, for that matter) can incur the strong resentment of some or all the Indian people. One way is to fall foul of the tangle of religious and social intricacies, which are best left alone. Another is to tamper with history. There was once a good silent film called *Shiraz* dealing with the story of the Taj Mahal. Unfortunately, those responsible saw fit to alter the facts to suit their own purpose (making the builder of the Taj fall in love with the Empress Mumtaz Mahal was one of their brain waves), and the film had to be proscribed in consequence of the outcry against it. An instance of the unwisdom of treading incautiously on sacred ground was the film *The Light of Asia*, dealing with the life of Buddha. An almost entirely Indian production, it was shown in England with great success, but gave such deep offence to the Buddhists that it was banned in Burma and Ceylon.

This is fully understandable when one remembers that in most religions, including the Christian faith, there are many who feel it something of a profanation to portray sacred figures on the screen. The Muhammadans, who form nearly one fourth of India's population, are particularly susceptible in this matter. The Hindu religion, on the other hand, provides something of an exception to this rule. Films depicting legends of the gods, goddesses, and saints—treated, of course, with accuracy and the utmost reverence—are extremely popular, especially among the older and more orthodox folk, and also the unlettered masses, whose piety is great. The younger generation of townfolk is much more modern in its outlook, and though its members go to see religious films out of a sense of duty, they prefer British or American films, pictures of social life and Indian made musical comedy films. Indeed, the 'musical,' that typical product of

the West, no sooner reached the East than it settled down there and became naturalized

The enormity of contrasting European and Indian characters to the derogation of either, or of ridiculing either, or of making either in any general sense the villain of the piece, is too glaring to need enlarging upon, and in such cases the censor would quite rightly intervene. Another less obvious pitfall for the film producer in India is the fact that the age-old inter-communal feuds between Hindu and Muhammadan are as inflammable as celluloid, and a chance incident in a picture, showing either side in an unfavourable light, may, so to speak, set a match to them—some times with disastrous results, including riots and even bloodshed. There is only one means of insuring against these and similar blunders and that is, for films dealing with any aspect of Indian life to be made only under the strict supervision of at least one Indian fully informed in the main facts and able to consult, if need be, the adherents of any religion or community concerned.

CO-OPERATIVE EFFORT

It will be seen, then, that the possibilities of the film producing industry in India are enormous. At the same time I am emphatically *not* recommending that it should be taken up and developed wholly by non Indians. The manifest unfairness of this exploitation of their own country at the expense of the Indian film making firms would be bound to arouse bad feeling, to say the least of it, and might even lead eventually to a boycott of the intruders' films and picture-houses. The solution is that of equal co-operation between Englishman and Indian. Fairness to both sides might be safeguarded by legislation if necessary, though somehow I do not think that this would be necessary.

My second suggestion is one which I should dearly like to see carried out—namely, Government assistance. This assistance could take many forms. A Government subsidy or system of loans would, of course, be the greatest possible boon and also the greatest possible stimulus to the trade—which, it must be remembered, is of great national importance. Another help would be grants to promising students to give them a thorough training, at

the British studios, in the technical side of film producing I should also like to see a Department of State or, if that is too much to hope for, a Bureau attached to one of the existing Departments, designed to aid and encourage the Indian film industry in every possible way, both advisory and practical

And in England, what invaluable work could be done by an Empire Film Board working in conjunction with important organizations such as the East India Association and the Royal Empire Society, and with the Trade Departments of the various Dominions¹ London, as the metropolis of the Empire, would have to be the headquarters The Board would act as a clearing house for the best purely entertainment films produced in all parts of the Empire, and also for educational and commercial films from the same sources—travel and other interest films, and films showing how the different Empire products are produced and marketed

WHAT THE FILM CAN DO

The immense power of the cinema, either for good or evil, is so well known that reference to it is a platitude But I do not think it is fully realized in this country how great that power is in India, where great masses of the people are still illiterate and therefore especially impressionable There was much talk a few years ago about the harm done in India by certain types of Western film, notably those depicting over vehement love scenes, raising social and marriage problems, and throwing sidelights on divorce, etc—to say nothing of films which glorified the criminal All these were calculated to encourage crime and vice and to lower Western prestige in the Indian mind This was often true, fortunately, a wise censorship in the Presidency towns and in each Province has seen the danger, and while not unreasonably stringent, bans or efficiently cuts films likely to cause mischief

On the other side of the picture is the cinema's power for good Again, nowhere is its scope greater than in India The most obvious example is the educational film The uses of such films are almost unlimited, above all in so vast a country, where the great mass of the people are illiterate I do not mean schooling

alone, though the film can help tremendously there. But—as is already being done to an increasing extent under Government auspices—the film can be an incomparable medium for imparting knowledge of hygiene, agriculture, home industries, rural reconstruction, methods of dealing with illness or accidents, and similar invaluable information. I should like to see this matter taken in hand still more thoroughly by the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, and Public Health, as well as by the local governing bodies, who could arrange for the films to be produced by Indian companies. Here again the travelling cinema can come into its own and serve the remote and isolated villages.

Moreover, the educational film—and, even more, its near relative, the news-reel—is the best of all vehicles for propaganda. Here is the simplest and most acceptable means of promoting goodwill and understanding between Indian and English, between governors and governed, between different religious sects and racial communities, as well as for combating subversive political propaganda, and setting the true facts before the eyes of the people. The importance—indeed, the urgency—of this point can not be over-estimated.

Another important aspect of the cinema is peculiar to India namely, its value as a factor in the cause of national unity by the use of a common language. As we know, in the greater part of India most educated Indians are bilingual, speaking English and Hindustani, the uneducated Indian speaks his own local dialect, of which there are a great number. But since all of these are variants, to a greater or lesser extent, of either Hindi or Urdu—the two languages which together make up Hindustani—it follows that he can almost always understand Hindustani in some degree. There is therefore a growing movement among educated Indians to accept Hindustani as the universal language of the country—a consummation which would go far towards breaking down inter-communal barriers and uniting the peoples of India. Here the cinema is already proving a most valuable ally, and could be used to still greater advantage in this connection.

Let us endeavour to make the noblest possible use of so great a

power as the cinema. There is nothing to compare with it, even remotely, as a means of familiarizing the peoples of different nations and races with one another, of revealing each to each in their daily life, of interpreting their ideals to each other, and of drawing them into closer touch and bringing that mutual knowledge which is the doorway to world wide understanding and friendship and the realization of universal brotherhood.

The cinema can be a most powerful force in any cause, let us make full use of it for the promulgation of peace, the welfare of people and nations, and—an end which is dear to all our hearts—the promotion of increasing and, eventually, complete understanding between the peoples of East and West.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall Westminster S W 1 on Tuesday April 13 1937 when a paper entitled *The Cinema in India its Scope and Possibilities* was read by Mr Dewan Sharar Mr R A. Butler M P Under-Secretary of State for India was in the Chair and the following ladies and gentlemen amongst others were present

Sir Louis Dane, C.I.E. C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E. Sir Hugh McPherson K.C.I.E. C.S.I. Sir Thomas Smuth Sir Edward MacLagan, K.C.S.I. K.C.I.E. and Lady MacLagan, Mr John de La Valette Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh Mr C. G. Hancock, Mr T. V. A. Isvaran, Mr F. J. P. Richter Lady Bennett Lady (James) Walker Mrs Weir Mr K. K. Lalkaka Mr H. S. L. Polak Mr G. W. Dawson, Dr A. A. Bake, Dr A. A. Puri Dr and Mrs M. L. Kalra Mr and Mrs H. M. Wilmot Mrs B. D. Berry and Mr Berry Mrs Gray Mr A. H. Chowryappa Mr K. B. Talookdar Mrs Mahomed Mr T. P. Fernandez Mrs Helen R. McCallum Mr and Begum Sadiq Shah Miss Bathivala, Miss A. R. Caton Miss Speechley Mrs Anne Kalka Miss MacLagan Miss Hawarden, Miss Carter Mr B. K. Sinha, Miss L. M. Gunter Madam Norah Lee Miss Q. Reynolds Miss Longhurst, Begum Shakir Mohamedi Dr C. L. Katial Mr W. Gordon Rayner Tikka Gurbachand Singh, and Mr F. H. Brown C.I.E. Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen,—It is a great honour for me to be asked to take the Chair this afternoon at what I think is going to be a very interesting talk by Mr Dewan Sharar. He is a member of a well known family in the Punjab and has been connected with the Indian stage and screen for the past eighteen years. He was the first Indian graduate of Northern India to form a repertory company and he toured India with it, himself writing and producing nearly twenty plays (Applause). He is the author of *Karma* the first all Indian talking film which had as you remember, a very successful run in the Marble Arch Pavilion three years ago, and it was he who directed the Hindustani version. Three of his plays especially written for the radio have been broadcast by the B.B.C. and during his stay here in addition to many short stories in daily papers he has published a volume of Hindu fairy tales and a novel *The Garden of Sheba* which was very well received indeed.

He has acted in an advisory capacity to the Gaumont British Picture Corporation in two of their recent important films *East meets West* and *His Lordship*, in which Mr George Arliss played the leading rôles. So you see there is no one better qualified to talk to us upon this subject.

Mr DEWAN SHARAR I had the pleasure of meeting the Chairman for the first time only a few minutes ago, but I knew of him and of his illustrious

father Sir Montagu Butler and uncle Sir Harcourt Butler. These two are known and remembered throughout India as great administrators and great gentlemen. When our esteemed friend Mr Brown, informed me that Mr Butler had consented to preside over the meeting I was delighted. I can assure you sir, I feel deeply honoured at your being in the chair this afternoon.

Now a word about my paper. By pure coincidence I received last week three invitations to attend special film shows all dealing with India. These were the Press presentation of *The Elephant Boy*, the exhibition of films at the Empire Tea Marketing Bureau and a reception given by the Trade Commissioner for Mysore, at which a film was shown depicting the capture of wild elephants. The enthusiasm with which these were received went to strengthen my conviction that the films of India have a very real and universal appeal in the West, and most of all in England. This encourages me to hope that the following pages dealing with the cinema in India, will hold something of interest for both English and Indian listeners.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen,—I am sure I am voicing your feelings when I express your thanks to our lecturer this afternoon for a talk which I think in its scope and possibilities—which is part of its original title—is really remarkable and for a paper which has been constructed with very great care in every detail. Very often when a paper is constructed with such care it lacks the human touch but you sir have held our interest throughout this afternoon by the colourful manner of your presentation of your case and by the humanity with which you approach a subject in which we are all deeply interested.

I should like in my capacity as Chairman here today and from my position as a member of the Government to appeal to the British film industry to co-operate with Indians in developing the vast and as yet almost untouched market which India provides.

You sir mentioned various figures and told us that there were 670 cinemas in the whole of India—of which only about 450 showed Indian films—as compared with the figure of 4,600 cinemas in this country. You also reminded us, nevertheless that the capital invested in the Indian industry is about Rs 5 crores, and that the number of people engaged in it is 23,000. These figures show that the Indian industry although not nearly as large as that of the United States a country of an approximately equivalent size where there are 20,000 cinemas at least has made a start, and that for the future it has every advantage on its side.

You have pointed out that the Indian people have no lack of artistic talent. They have a most beautiful country providing a variety of scene which perhaps no other country can rival.

I have always thought myself that the cameraman in the past at any rate in the West, has been wrong to go always to the indoor studio, where he has to compete with the theatre whereas if he goes outside to the realm of Nature the theatre cannot compete with him. Perhaps the tropical mystery of the scenes in *Elephant Boy* will tend to encourage a movement which will

depict themes from the epic past of India in the open-air beauty of her country where drop-scenes and studios, and indeed, as you have reminded us stars are ready made

What is now needed is the technical skill which British industry can provide. You, sir have asked for further Government assistance. Well let me deal with that for a moment. I am glad to say that the Government of India has reduced the import duty on raw films by 5 per cent. from April 1

But apart from that I must remind you that under the new Constitution this department will be a provincial one and that the responsibility for the development of the Indian cinema industry will rest with the various Provincial Governments. I think it is apposite for me here to draw a moral from this. I do not think that many Indians have realized the immense scope that there is in Provincial Government. This is just one example of the complete freedom which will now be in the hands of Provincial Governments to deal with this vital aspect of the Indian cinema industry

and the great educational possibilities presented by the cinema especially in a country where the population is largely illiterate will, I am sure, not be neglected by future Indian Ministers in the responsible government of their various provinces and if they miss this opportunity I think it will be a great pity

The development of broadcasting in India has been carefully fostered by the Government but the influence of the cinema may in many cases be used in that country to even greater effect. Seeing is believing and nowadays the talking film appeals to the ear as well as to the eye

Well sir let me thank you again for your very interesting lecture. To show you that the Government has taken an interest in the industry, and always does when it is approached I appeal again to the British industry to help you and I hope that Indian Ministers will take advantage of the opportunities which you have been describing to us in your paper

Now I should like to read to you letters from the leaders of British industry which have been sent this afternoon. I will read them in full because they raise most interesting topics. They illustrate the very great esteem in which our lecturer this afternoon is held

Mr VICTOR PERRS (Production Manager Gaumont British Picture Corporation) wrote

I have read through the paper entitled *The Cinema in India its Scope and Possibilities*, by Mr Dewan Sharar with great interest.

One or two small points have struck me however as needing some comment. Mr Sharar says that in India there are some beautiful women and handsome men and folk with enough character depicted on their faces to compete with any film stars of the Western world. I am quite sure that Mr Sharar will appreciate that the character depicted on a face is not enough in any country to make for film stardom, but that it is the character within the artiste which is capable of being drawn out by the director which is the essential factor

Again in his remarks about the film *Shiraz* he expresses as his opinion

that it is a mistake to tamper with history. Here, again I personally disagree. History in any case is but the description of events as seen or understood by one particular person, but my real point is that, provided the tampering with history does not destroy its entertainment value, but, on the contrary enhances it, the general film public are not affected in their allegiance to any film. Although I am no authority on such matters one remembers considerable criticism about the film *The Private Life of Henry the Eighth* on account of its historical inaccuracy but this did not prevent the film from being one of the greatest successes made in this country. In the case of *Shiraz* I believe that its unpopularity in India was not due to the distortion of history but that the distortion did not find favour with a large section of Indian opinion.

I have had some experience in India with film production and I most heartily endorse Mr Sharar's remarks about co-operation. This is needed I believe more than anything else and therefore I particularly feel that his suggestions for grants to students for training in British studios and a bureau to encourage the Indian film industry in both an advisory and practical form would be invaluable.

For the rest, Mr Sharar I am sure understands the problems infinitely more than I do and I am sure that his remarks will be as interesting to the members of the Association as I have found them myself.

Mr GORDON W G RAYNER (General Secretary Associated Talking Pictures Ltd and Associated British Film Distributors Ltd) wrote

I have just had the opportunity of discussing with Mr Basil Dean the chairman of my three companies, the opinions suggestions and hopes so admirably set out in your paper which we have both read with interest.

Mr Dean has asked me to assure you that the policy which our companies have adopted from the start is in itself an endorsement of the underlying principles contained in your paper conscious as they have always been of the enormous power of the cinematograph film in the numerous ways you suggest.

My companies would therefore welcome not only some measure of State protection or Imperial preference as you suggest, which would enable them justifiably to expand their distribution activities but also and even more so perhaps any co-operative scheme by which the resources and wealths of our respective countries and industries could be pooled and utilized so that more and more of the films shown on British screens throughout the Empire shall be *British* films with all the ideals that definition implies.

Mr ROBERT FLAHERTY the producer of *Elephant Boy* wrote to Mr Sharar

I have just read your paper entitled *The Cinema in India* which you are going to read tomorrow before the East India Association. I believe that the possibilities of making films in India is tremendous. They must be made by Indians themselves. No other country save perhaps the Russian Empire, has such a diversity of people. There is one way and one way only in which to do it and that is through a medium which is the only medium of expression common to the whole world the cinema.

One thing it seems to me is particularly urgent. Some provision should be made so that Indians could be enabled to learn whatever we here in the West know about making films both as to story and technique. Some very good work has already been done by Indians and India, but the number of Indians in India engaged in film work in relation to the vast population of the country is very small. Everything is in the future and a great future it has.

Dr A. BAKER I agree fully with the lecturer as to the good the cinema can do in India. I have often seen at village fairs the travelling cinema showing the way to fight malaria, cholera and the other evils which threaten Indian village life and teaching under the guise of an easily comprehensible story the principles of hygiene and so on to the illiterate villagers.

But there is one consideration which the lecturer has not mentioned and that is the value of the cinema in making a record of those customs that are fast vanishing in India itself. One person has already done a great deal of work in that direction—I mean Mrs. Sten Harding who has devoted years of intensive study and great personal sacrifices to make a record of the vanishing art of classical dancing, especially in Southern India such as was practised in olden days by the temple girls which modern life is gradually eliminating. Also in a further widening of that field the cinema can show a great many customs in village dances and so on which have a great importance in the cultural life of the people of India and which are bound to vanish. A record of these can be made by judicious and skilful filming.

This record is naturally of scientific value, but we all know how nowadays in India the interest in the life of India as it has been for very many hundreds of years is widening and strengthening and how from Indian life itself an impetus for a renaissance is gained. Consequently if filming is taken up on a broad enough basis in India the contribution the films can make to the strengthening of Indian national life by a faithful record of those customs which have been alive for so many centuries and are now threatened with destruction cannot be overrated.

So I am very thankful that the lecturer has drawn attention to the good work of the cinema and I think if these things are included in cinematographic activity in India the promotion of increasing and, eventually, complete understanding between the peoples of East and West (to quote his last sentence) will be greatly furthered.

Mr H. S. L. POLAK I am very glad indeed to be able to join in this tribute to the lecturer who in more than one direction has performed a very signal pioneer service to his country.

Unlike me, I think, however, he has not recently been to India because if he had been I think he might have drawn a rather more optimistic picture of the actual technical situation there. It was three years, nearly four, since my last visit, and on both of those occasions I took the opportunity of going when in Bombay to see and hear some of the Indian films as distinguished from the Western films. I was tremendously interested in and greatly encouraged by what I saw on this latter occasion, and I think if

Mr Dewan Sharar had actually seen a film that I saw recently in Bombay in which a former colleague of his, Devika Rani, took part he would have been immensely encouraged in his view both of the general progress and of the technique of Indian film production

There was one thing however that I noticed, and no doubt it would be taken note of by those who are concerned and that is the actual effect of a picture upon a looker-on and a member of the audience I do not think there has been sufficient care taken, at least not in the theatre where I went—which was one of the most prominent in Bombay—as to how the thing actually strikes on the ear It is no use it seems to me having a very fine picture that in fact grates upon the ear even if it charms the eye because it is much too loud for the size of the hall That kind of thing, I think would have to be very carefully considered in any matter of theatre technique

There were two or three other matters that were dealt with in the course of the paper to which I should like briefly to refer

One was with regard to the question of the distortion of history or the modification of it There is such a thing of course as putting history in a wrong perspective, but I do not think there is much to be gained by sticking exactly to what tradition gives us unless we are able to fill up the gaps The average man is not particularly imaginative and it is difficult for him to carry forward the whole story of what is after all a very slight theme unless it is filled in with detail which must largely be left to the imagination of the authors of the film But I do agree that a great deal of care will have to be exercised in the possible effect of these changes or additions lest an entirely different impression should be caused.

I have recently in my professional capacity been asked to advise in regard to a certain book published in this country relating to a very interesting episode in Indian history of the last century The author is personally known to me and I saw the script before it was actually published It did not seem to me that there was anything at all offensive in it on the contrary it struck me as being a fine work of art But I was surprised on this visit to India to be told that it had caused in local circles the very strongest offence It really indicates how careful producers would have to be in dealing with religious or historical subjects

I was particularly interested in what the lecturer has said with regard to the value and use of the educational film in Indian villages and rural development I think there is no doubt that what the ear receives by way of the radio has to be very largely added to by what the eye can see What one hears but does not see can very often be a matter of mystery and misunderstanding but where one sees the thing as well as hears what its subject is it is a matter of very great advantage it seems to me, from the point of view of the education of the average villager

There was one passage in the early part of the lecturer's paper which I think should be amplified a little He says But the fact remains and must be faced, that as yet no entirely Indian picture produced in India with Indian directors actors, and technicians, has been good enough to be sold and shown in the West.

Of course there would be the language difficulty. If he is referring to a film in the English language that is another matter. I cannot pretend to judge about that, but I can see that there would be considerable difficulties about producing in the West a Hindustani play particularly if as the lecturer himself points out, it has to have a musical accompaniment and song. It would be difficult to reproduce that in the West and if it had to be translated there would be still greater difficulties. I think that is a matter to which he might perhaps direct his attention. (Applause)

MR G W DAWSON. I should like to congratulate Mr Dewan Sharar most sincerely upon the excellent composition of his paper its clarity of expression its comprehensive scope.

I worked in a Government department out there directly on film production for five years. I notice Mr Dewan Sharar did not refer to the fact that there actually was a Government department dealing with films. The department produced over eighty films concerned mainly with the work of the beneficent departments of films designed to show the people what the Government was doing for them—such films as *The Desert Awakes* which dealt with the Canal Colonies of the Punjab the reclamation of the desert round Montgomery the Lloyd Dam in Sind how ten million people were going to be put on the land and desert soil brought under cultivation greater in area than all the cultivated land in Egypt.

The difficulties in the producing of those films were very much the same as Mr Dewan Sharar has pointed out. For example the film on *Cattle Improvement in India* was produced at the Government Cattle Farm Nagpur in co-operation with the Agricultural Department. Having been produced in Nagpur we soon found it was not acceptable in other parts of the country. It was shown at Karnal in the Punjab to peasant people men concerned with cattle themselves who one would imagine would be interested in learning how the men of the Central Provinces tend their cattle and improve the breeds but when the picture appeared on the screen all around one heard the remark from these men as they got up to go. This is foreign. It seemed strange to hear Punjabis talk of anything produced in the Central Provinces as foreign. But they did not want to know what the people in the Central Provinces did and we had to take that film off the screen at once.

That is one indication of the many difficulties Mr Dewan Sharar has dealt with this afternoon. The language difficulty is of course a great one. It limits the marketability of a commercial film (with sound recording in a vernacular tongue) to a very confined market. The gross revenue is comparatively small the expenditure must be commensurate except in films appealing to Western audiences like *Bengal Lancer* *Elephant Boy* *Lights of Asia* where a large expenditure is justified by the gross financial returns. My authority for that is Mr Ardesir Irani one of the best producers in India, the head of the Imperial Film Company in Bombay which I consider to be the best producing firm in India. He said he never spent more than 10,000 rupees at the most 20,000 rupees on a film. His reason was that he had so limited a market for his films that the market for them did not justify an

expenditure of more than 10,000 to 20,000 rupees. That is an infinitesimal sum compared to the monies poured into American and English films. By the expenditure of large sums first-class brains are obtained men who understand film production men who are capable of thinking in terms of moving pictures. There are few people in this world capable of composing ideas into moving pictures. Flora Annie Steel once handed me four attempts of her own to write scenarios. They were pathetic. As an authoress she had a brain as a scenario writer she had no brain at all. The same might be said of almost all big authors. There are very few creative minds in this world capable of using moving pictures as a medium of expression.

I was surprised that Mr. Dewan Sharar made no reference to the fact that in India the Government had run six cinema cars on railways and that shows were given to six million people during a period of about five years until the talkie film came in when it was found expenditure would have to be so great and the conditions had altered to such an extent that the work was dropped. At that time economy was the order of the day.

But even in my time before I retired the difficulty was faced of endeavouring to train Indians in the production of films not only Indians but Englishmen. We found that if they did not possess inherent in them selves that particular quality a creative ability which is entirely different from administrative ability they were useless. You must have men of creative ability of imagination insight and particularly of that type of insight and imagination that goes to the making of good films. When you realize that a man of imagination and creative ability like Noel Coward makes an income twenty times as big as that of the Prime Minister of England, you realize that men of creative mind can command big salaries. If you want good films you have to employ highly paid men. The difficulties of producing outstanding films are great and even though you produce them in India you have not the public in India because it is divided up into many different provinces. There are many varying ethnological entities. They differ in their likes and dislikes their outlook their requirements their essential needs. Those differences are cogent.

I for one doubt whether Hindustani would ever be understood all over the sub-continent of India. The conditions in India are different from what they are in America.

The best way of reaching the people is through the railways with travelling cinema cars giving open-air shows in the warm nights nine months of the year. The rains last only three months of the year. You can give open air shows for the rest of the year.

The Government had done in India up to the time when talking films came into being, a great deal. As regards the tourist attractions, we had films shown in America and we have had our films showing the beneficent work of Government Departments shown at the Imperial Institute and elsewhere.

A great deal has been done. I have no doubt a great deal more can be done particularly for smaller audiences of two hundred with 16 millimetre substandard films at far less expenditure on production. In that way I have no doubt a great deal of propaganda work could be achieved, but

behind it all lies the necessity for creative brains and creative ability, men who can think and express ideas in terms of moving pictures. If possible they should know India, or be Indians themselves. In any case they must co-operate with Indians.

Dr A. A. Puri. The last speaker has suggested one or two points that I should like to refer to. I think that, years ago the Government did very useful propaganda work through films for the benefit of the rural population during the cholera and other epidemics and thereby tried to explain and show the difficulties of these epidemics getting round and that was a very useful piece of work. But it is very difficult to popularize, in a thing like that, the film industry.

We are discussing the commercial part of it and what I understand Mr Dewan Sharar to suggest is that the Government should help the growth and progress of the industry in the way it has patronized other industries in India.

I agree that there is very great scope for very useful work but I do not agree with the last speaker that cheap films produced by Bombay are the only kind that would be appreciated in India. Perhaps his informer wanted to emphasize the monopoly of the Bombay industrialists who have been so far keeping all the educated technicians out of this industry so that not many people should come and spoil their monopoly. There is no prejudice so far against *pardesi* or foreign films in India.

We are grateful to Mr Dewan Sharar who started years ago to reform the theatre in India and who after that, has been trying to help the Indian film industry in a practical manner not only with his brains but his pocket also. I wish we could see very soon realization of a suggestion that he has made. Although I have not been to India recently I agree with Mr Polak that there have been great improvements made. But still there is a great scope for Mr Dewan Sharar's suggestions to be tried.

Mr DEWAN SHARAR. I am extremely pleased to find that my paper has evoked so much interest. I am particularly grateful to our Chairman for his very kind and encouraging remarks. I am grateful to the gentlemen who have taken part in the discussion and I am also thankful to the three film chiefs of the three most important British film-producing concerns for the interest they have shown.

With regard to Dr Baker's advocacy of the recording of classical dances, etc. I would remind him that many Indian films are full of classical dancing folk lore folk song festivals and fairs.

In reply to Mr Polak's query as to whether films with Hindustani dialogue will have any appeal in the Western market, it would be worth while (in the case of really good pictures) to make an English version of the dialogue or, as in the case of some continental films to have English titles superimposed on the film. Regarding Mr Polak's remarks based on his recent visit to India, I have mentioned in my paper that there are pictures which are of outstanding merit, and although I have not been to India recently I have had a copy of a very recent address by the President

of the second All India Cinematograph Convention at Madras in which he very frankly admits and deplores the poor progress of the Indian film industry

As to what Mr Dawson said regarding the Indian railways film department, I am fully aware of the importance of it—indeed I myself supplied several entertainment films to more than one railway company—but as I was only touching on the matter briefly, I intended the phrase commercial films to cover these and all such activities and did not think it necessary to specify any particular department or firm

It has been suggested that the character depicted on a face is not enough in any country to make them suitable for film stardom Well if it is not sufficient, then how did the phrase casting to type come into existence?

It has been suggested on my remarks about the film *Shiraz* that provided tampering with history does not destroy the entertainment value all is well I can quite see that this applies in England but I was talking of India where matters are very very different Among Indian audiences the entertainment value of a picture goes for nothing if the audiences find that their beloved and revered historical personalities are misrepresented on the screen or held up to insult

My critic compares *Shiraz* with the *Private Life of Henry the Eighth* Henry VIII was hardly such a revered character as the Empress Mumtaz Mahal Showing her as the beloved of the builder of the Taj Mahal would be more like depicting Queen Victoria involved in a love affair with, say Mr Gladstone (Laughter)

SIR JAMES McKENNA The pleasant duty falls to me of expressing our thanks to the lecturer and Chairman

I must say that I think we all agree that Mr Dewan Sharar's paper apart from anything else is most delightfully written and that the case he has put before us has been a very powerful one for the development of the cinema in India

Its importance has been considerably augmented by the professional opinions which he has managed to extract from the three big men of the film industry in London, combined with a very straight from the shoulder criticism by Mr Dawson who has had some practical experience of the cinema in India It is a most useful paper and I think it might with advantage be brought to the notice of the new Provincial Governments to see what help they can give in the matter

As to our Chairman we almost look on him as a regular attendant at the meetings of the East India Association If he is not in the Chair he is in the audience and we are very grateful to him that in spite of all his many preoccupations as Under-Secretary of State for India he can spare the time to come to our deliberations

INDIA AND QUEEN VICTORIA

BY DR COLLIN C DAVIES

(Reader in Indian History University of Oxford)

IN striking contrast to her immediate predecessors, Queen Victoria accepted her great inheritance as a sacred trust. Of all her possessions India appealed most to her imagination, and her interest in its affairs grew out of a natural and conscientious desire to ensure that the position of her Empire should not in any way be impaired in the eyes of the world. Possessed of great physical and mental energy, she applied herself to the work of government with unremitting perseverance, and, early or late, she was to be found toiling at her desk laboriously studying every detail of administration. In grave crises her undaunted spirit triumphed over all obstacles, and, when her ministers and advisers seemed to lose heart or grow weary, she infused into them something of her own courage and energy.

For the first twenty years of her reign British India was under the rule of the East India Company, though, since the days of the Younger Pitt, the Company had shared sovereignty with the Board of Control. Her Majesty's reign opened with that melancholy piece of folly, the First Afghan War, the responsibility for which must be shared between Lord Auckland and the Board of Control. The conquest of Sind by Sir Charles Napier in 1843, and the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, by advancing the British administrative boundary across the Indus made it continuous with the territories of the independent Pathan and Baluch tribes of the North West Frontier, brought the British into closer contact with the Amir of Afghanistan, or, as he was termed in those days, the Amir of Kabul, and eventually led to complications with Russia in Central Asia. British India had now attained its natural limits, for on the north west the political and geographical frontiers roughly coincided.

The India of the Company perished in the conflagration of the Mutiny from its ashes rose, Phoenix like, the India of the Queen. At first this country's foreign relations were determined by European responsibilities, the legacy of the gigantic struggle with Napoleon, but in the years that followed the security of India became an increasingly important factor influencing British foreign policy. As far as India was concerned her reign has been aptly described as one of conquest, consolidation, and conciliation. It witnessed a centralization under the Crown made possible by the rapid development of communications after 1858. It also witnessed the fixed resolve of educated Indians to secure a larger share in the government of their country. Perhaps it would not be far short of the truth to assert that the most precious legacies of the Victorian era were the legal codes.

Lord Melbourne, Baron Stockmar, King Leopold, and the Prince Consort undoubtedly influenced the Queen in the beginning of her reign, and it would be entirely erroneous to make any attempt to minimize the influence of her beloved consort, for the systematic organization of the business brought to her notice was one of his greatest achievements. Even after his death she never seriously attempted to overstep the rôle of influential counsellor which he had mapped out for her. Indeed, he truly described himself as "the husband of the Queen, the tutor of the royal children, the private secretary of the Sovereign, and her permanent minister." The real personal influence of the Queen therefore dates from 1861, for from this time onwards, if the editors have not garbled or judiciously pruned her letters, we notice the growth of a more independent attitude. Where formerly independence had been foreign to her nature, and where her opinions had often been merely the echoes of her advisers, she now pertinaciously pressed her own opinions on the notice of her ministers. The most casual reader of her voluminous correspondence would not doubt the genuineness of her interest, and, in a person of her exalted position, interest rapidly merged into influence. The power she possessed can only be fully realized when it is remembered that none of her ministers exercised supreme responsibility for more than six consecutive years,

whereas the Queen was never out of office Mr Gladstone was well aware of this when he said

The acts, the wishes the example of the Sovereign in this country are a real power. An immense reverence and a tender affection await upon the person of the one permanent and ever faithful Guardian of the fundamental conditions of the Constitution. Parliaments and Ministers pass, but she abides in lifelong duty and she is to them as the oak in the forest is to the annual harvest in the field.

THE PROCLAMATION OF 1858

The assumption of direct government by the Crown after the Mutiny was the occasion for a Royal Proclamation, since it was realized that something more than an Act of Parliament was required to make the new Constitution acceptable to the princes and peoples of India. The draft proclamation, which was the work of Lord Stanley, asserted the power of Britain with needless brusqueness, it was lacking in imagination, and failed to emphasize the religious character of the Sovereign. It did not therefore meet with the approval of the Queen, who was determined that it should clearly set forth her personal interest in the welfare of her Indian subjects. Never was the influence of the Crown under Victoria used to greater advantage. She reminded Lord Derby, the Prime Minister, that it was a female sovereign who spoke to more than a hundred million Indian subjects on assuming direct control over them at the close of a bloody struggle. Since the peoples of India were as deeply attached to their religious beliefs and customs as she was to her own, she insisted that it should be clearly laid down that they were to be protected in the exercise of their religious observances. The proclamation was to breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration. Very wisely Lord Derby recast the proclamation in accordance with her wishes.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law, and

we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

To the peoples of India the Crown gave an assurance that neither race nor religion should debar them from employment in the government of the country. The actual wording of the declaration was that

so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service the duties of which they may be qualified by their education ability, and integrity duly to discharge

Henceforth fitness was to be the criterion of eligibility. But the phrase so far as may be was open to many interpretations and partook of the nature of a safeguard, which more than forty years later Lord Curzon utilized in argument in his Legislature. To the princes, the Crown relinquished the right, recently enforced by Dalhousie, of resuming their territories on the failure of natural heirs. To all her Indian subjects the Queen proclaimed her deep personal concern in their welfare.

In their prosperity will be our strength in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward.

It is sometimes pointed out that certain of these pledges had been made in 1833, but it should be remembered that the Mutiny had left bitter memories in its wake. That these pledges were reiterated in 1858 is a clear proof of the statesmanship and foresight behind this august proclamation. The hour of victory was not to be the occasion for repressive legislation. If possible, no remembrance of past wrongs was to embitter relations between the two peoples in the future. From this date the development of India's national aspirations begins, for educated Indians undoubtedly took this proclamation seriously. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, speaking at Birmingham on January 31 last, testified to the strength of feeling with which even to this day the proclamation is entertained by Indians. At the Round Table Conference there were few passages quoted with more authority than those parts of the proclamation for which Queen Victoria had been directly responsible. Indeed, nothing is more marked than the persistence with which in all political argument by Indians,

certainly up to 1919, the proclamation was quoted and the demand made that effect should be given to it. The sincerity of the Queen is apparent in one of her earliest letters to Lord Canning

It is a source of great satisfaction and pride to her to feel herself in direct communication with that enormous Empire which is so bright a jewel of her Crown and which she would wish to see happy contented and peaceful May the publication of her Proclamation be the beginning of a new era, and may it draw a veil over the sad and bloody past!

THE QUEEN AND THE SERVICES

One of the most important questions after the Mutiny was the reorganization of the military forces in India. Lord Canning, the Viceroy, favoured a system, advocated many years before by Sir Thomas Munro, of a local European force enlisted for permanent service in India. This, it was argued, would be more economical and more fully at the disposal of the Government of India. Canning's proposal was supported by certain members of the India Council, who, taking the view most favourable to their own power and patronage, submitted an elaborate minute to the Queen in which the expediency was maintained of leaving the India Council to act upon 'the long-established rules' of their predecessors at India House. The Prince Consort, who undoubtedly had great influence over the Queen at this time, pointed out in a well argued memorandum that this appeal would have come with more effect if the years 1857 and 1858 had not afforded ample proof of the melancholy results of the old system. The Queen announced to Lord Derby her firm determination not to sanction the creation of a British force distinct from what was then known as the army of the Crown, for it would be dangerous to the retention of India, especially in times of emergency. Moreover the evils of a divided control had already revealed themselves and had made it necessary to merge the powers of the Company in the Crown. Although Lord Derby threatened to resign, the Queen eventually gained the day and the British forces in India were amalgamated with the home army under the nominal control of the Crown. The infantry became regiments of the line, and the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Artillery, and

the corresponding corps of Indian Engineers, were amalgamated with the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers. Queen Victoria therefore played an important part in ensuring that the Indian army should be an imperial force and not a local militia.

We have seen how tenacious the Queen was of the royal prerogative and how she was always on her guard lest it should be refined away by legislative enactments. She considered the introduction of competitive examinations for appointments in the Indian Civil Service as cancelling the Crown's power of nomination to posts which carried with them a delegation of royal authority. On this important point she had to admit defeat. She once more reverted to it in 1891, when she recommended that appointments to the Indian Civil Service should not be confined to successful competitors in an examination. Her views on this subject, which did not prove acceptable to her ministers, can be read in her published letters. In Lord Lansdowne's opinion her pronouncement on the Manipur outrage was an unfounded criticism of British residents, and it was thought that she had been influenced by her Indian munshi, Abdul Karim, who was in constant attendance upon her.

You may assure Her Majesty [wrote the Viceroy to Lord Cross] that I am as anxious as she can be to place in charge of the native states men who are conciliatory and tactful, as well as firm. I regret that Her Majesty should have formed what seemed to me an unjust opinion of our Residents as a class, and I think that she should be cautioned against accepting *ex parte* statements upon this subject.

These views were shared by Lord Cross.

Queen Victoria fully realized the value of pageantry and ceremonial, and her wish that the ceremonial of Government House should be observed to the utmost was loyally, if not excessively, carried out by Lord Curzon, the last of the Victorian Viceroys. She played an important part in the introduction of an official uniform for members of the Indian Civil Service. The question was first mooted, in 1861, by the Lord Chamberlain, who intimated to the Secretary of State Her Majesty's commands that "information and suggestions should be obtained from the Government of India with a view to the establishment there of a Civil Service uniform according to the system lately adopted in Her Majesty's Colonial Service."

But the Council of India did not see their way clear to imposing this expense on the members of the Indian Civil Service. Although it was not until 1899 that an official uniform was prescribed, the question was not held in abeyance during the whole of this time, for it was raised on several occasions, usually by the Viceroy of the time. The last occasion on which the question was raised by a Viceroy prior to 1899 was under Lord Lytton in 1879. Lord Lytton pointed out to Her Majesty that there was no check upon the sartorial fancies of the Indian Civil Service, for any sort of uniform was worn at the viceregal levees and dinners. Official functions must have resembled a fancy dress ball, for every variety of private dress was worn, some favouring trousers, others, more elegant, venturing on knee-breeches. The ladies added to this incongruous and undignified display by attending the drawing rooms some, as Lytton writes, in trains, others in long, others in short dresses. The question, as we have seen, was not finally settled until 1899. In 1902, King Edward VII permitted the Indian Civil Service to wear their uniform at Court functions in this country.

From the beginning of her reign, the Queen insisted that the granting of honours was part of the royal prerogative, and objected to the powers exercised by the East India Company. In her opinion it was not advisable to maintain two fountains of honour in the realm, and, during the Second Sikh War, she suggested that the Company should merely send a sword to Major Herbert Edwardes as an appreciation of his services. 'The highest dignities and titles ought to proceed directly from the Crown at the Viceroy's recommendation' was her reply to Canning's suggestion that Indian orders should be at the direct disposal of the Queen's representative. Sir Charles Wood's query whether letters of thanks to two hundred Indian civilians who had not been thought deserving of the honour of C.B. should run in her name or in that of the Government called forth a characteristic reply. Since the C.B. came directly from the Sovereign, so should the thanks, for the civil servants were the Queen's servants and not the servants of the Government. By way of completing ceremonially the connection between the Crown and India she

recommended the establishment of a new order, the *Star of India*, as a reward for those Indian princes who were loyal to her rule and for Indian officials who rendered conspicuous service. The first ceremony took place at Windsor Castle on November 1, 1861, when the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, Lord Clyde, Sir John Lawrence, General Pollock, and Lord Harris were invested with the Most Exalted Order of the *Star of India*. On her assumption of the title of Empress a new Order of the Indian Empire was created and a new Imperial Order of the Crown of India was established as a decoration for ladies whose position and work for Government called for recognition.

CONCEPTION OF HER DUTIES

The reading of history was one of Queen Victoria's greatest delights, and there could have been no more fitting preparation for the great rôle she was to play. The year before her accession we find her reading Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, which she considered of great interest but at the same time expressed the opinion that it would be well to draw a veil over certain episodes. This was a shrewd judgment, for Malcolm's devotion to his idol was a love passing the love of biographers. Nothing strikes the reader of her letters more than the diligent care with which she applied herself to her duties as a monarch. From the very first she took the keenest pleasure in filing and indexing the correspondence addressed to her. Many volumes of letters published and unpublished bear witness to the patience with which she kept herself informed of the minutest details. India was ever in her thoughts, and as her Empire expanded she felt with an increasing depth the anxieties and responsibilities inseparable from her position as Empress.

As far back as 1844 there are indications that she was not to be trifled with, for she begged Lord Aberdeen to send the despatches from the Foreign Office a little sooner as drafts had reached her in some cases a week or a fortnight after they had actually been sent abroad. She insisted that the practice of the India Office should conform to that of the Foreign Office and gave orders that copies or a précis of the minutes of the Council were to be regu-

larly transmitted to her. Towards the end of her reign she drew Lord George Hamilton's attention to these minutes, which contained so much unnecessary information that she was unable to form an accurate opinion on Indian affairs. Since these minutes were merely a formal record of the Council's proceedings, it is astonishing that the system was tolerated almost throughout her reign.

We have it on record that there was not a single proposition relating to the reorganization of the military forces in India after the Mutiny which was not laid before her and discussed before any decision was arrived at by her ministers. She allowed no detail to escape her and strongly resented the attitude of Lord Stanley, who as Secretary of State for India was somewhat lax in his correspondence with her. In these early days no promotion above the rank of colonel was made without a written explanation to the Queen, and in all questions of honours and appointments she took great care to secure the selection of the right man. Ministerial recommendations were never allowed to pass without the closest scrutiny, and she frequently raised objections which were sustained as valid.

When Lord Ellenborough was approached to accept the Governor-Generalship he feared that his health would not be equal to the unremitting and laborious duties which would devolve upon him. Neither was he by any means anxious to go to India, since it would have meant forfeiting a lucrative appointment of £7,500 a year. But, when Peel showed Ellenborough the Queen's letter, in which she expressed the opinion that he was the fittest person for that difficult position, he decided to accept. After Dalhousie's resignation she expressed her astonishment that the name of his successor had not been brought to her notice until all official steps had been taken. When Mr. Vernon Smith referred to the right of the Directors of the East India Company to nominate a Governor-General subject to the approval of the Crown, she readily acquitted him of any intentional disrespect but regretted that no opportunity had been afforded her of discussing this important question before the intention to recommend Lord Canning had become known to all concerned. She immediately

protested when an attempt was made by the Opposition to cancel Lord Mayo's appointment, even if he should have sailed, for she felt that the recall of her representative would weaken her authority in India. It will be remembered that a precedent existed in the case of Lord Heytesbury, who had been removed to make way for Lord Auckland, but Heytesbury was merely a Governor-General of the Company, whereas Mayo was the Viceroy of his Sovereign.

Apparently it was the Queen who first suggested to Lord Salisbury the name of Lord Lansdowne as successor to Lord Dufferin. Agam, had she been able to influence Mr Gladstone in 1893, Lord Elgin would never have proceeded to India as Viceroy. These examples of her interest and influence could be multiplied. The Queen was loyally served by her Viceroys throughout her long reign. They laboured steadfastly to carry out her behests and she stimulated and encouraged them by letters of tender sympathy for the people committed to their care. Lord Curzon, for example, received letters from her in her own hand every two or three weeks.

During the Mutiny the Queen considered that her ministers had failed to grasp the gravity of the situation and that they were not taking military precautions adequate to the emergency. Palmerston resented this advice and wrote with unbecoming sarcasm how fortunate it was for him that she was not on the Opposition side of the House of Commons. But Palmerston was wrong and the Queen was right, and it was due to the direct action of the Sovereign that reinforcements were poured into India at this critical juncture. Lord Canning in his policy of conciliation had no stronger supporter than his Queen, for she felt no hatred, and her sole desire was to see her Indian subjects contented. She refused to countenance reprisals at any time and noted with pleasure in 1867 that the barbarous suggestion of the *Commissioner in British Burma to burn the village of Malacca* in revenge for the massacre of a ship's company had been vetoed. At the same time she expressed her fear that British policy was not based on Christian principles. "It is not the first time," she wrote, "the Queen has lamented this tendency on the part of Englishmen in the East."

Because of her staunch support of his Afghan policy Lytton was prompted to write

She is really a better Englishman than any of her subjects and never falls short in a national crisis when the interests and honour of her empire are at stake.

We therefore find her during the first months of Mr Gladstone's second administration urging him to press the war to a successful conclusion, for she feared that after the defeat at Maiwand, adequate efforts would not be made to retrieve the disaster, and she proved her anxiety by inspecting the troopship *Jumna*, which was proceeding to India with reinforcements

SOCIAL RELATIONS

She drew Lord Northbrook's attention to the great importance of encouraging cordial relations between Englishmen and Indians. Apparently there was at the time some need for this reminder. There were in those days great difficulties militating against freedom of social intercourse. Caste prejudices and the seclusion of women played their part, and the memory of the Mutiny still rankled in the bosoms of both Englishmen and Indians. It will be remembered that it was the Prince of Wales who wrote to the Queen protesting against the attitude of certain English officials, especially those in the Indian States. When an English barrister practising at Agra by ill-treatment caused the death of an Indian groom, for which crime he was merely fined fifty rupees, Lord Lytton, with the consent of his Council, published a minute expressing his condemnation of the inadequacy of the penalty which met with the full approval of the Queen.

There can be no doubt that her sympathy with the sufferings of her Indian subjects was genuine. During the famine of 1874 Lord Northbrook received frequent communications expressing her deep sympathy with the people and her earnest hope that adequate measures would be taken to remedy this dreadful calamity. She was also greatly grieved when accounts reached her of the famine in Bengal during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton.

It was only natural that a female sovereign should take a special

interest in the welfare of Indian women. Before Lady Dufferin's departure from England the Queen had spoken earnestly to her on the question of endeavouring to relieve the sufferings, in sickness and child bearing, of the women of India. Before she took this step there had been sporadic attempts to provide hospitals, yet, taking India as a whole, there was a lamentable lack of such services and great need of effective organization. On her arrival in India Lady Dufferin's efforts resulted in the formation of an association at Simla under the name of 'The National Association for supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India,' of which the Queen became the Royal Patron. This was the origin of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, which has proved a priceless boon to millions of Indian women and which really owed its inception to Queen Victoria. It is interesting to note that Lady Dufferin lived to take part in the celebration in London of the Golden Jubilee of her fund.

The Queen, as is well known, was no supporter of what she termed the 'mad, wicked folly of Women's Rights.' "God created men and women different," so runs a passage in one of her letters, 'then let them remain each in their own position.' She did not therefore believe that Indian women should be 'over-educated,' for it might lead to their reading objectionable European literature, or to the imitation of that growing freedom of manner which she deplored in Western women.

THE QUEEN AND THE INDIAN PRINCES

From her accession the Queen had regarded the Company's government as an anomaly and always encouraged her Governors-General to correspond directly with her. The assumption of direct control by the Crown was welcomed by the Indian princes, for there was a vast difference in their eyes between a Governor-General acting in the name of a commercial corporation like the East India Company and a Viceroy who acted and spoke in the name of the Queen. A fresh emphasis was therefore laid on the duty of loyalty to the Sovereign, which was an express condition attached by Lord Canning to the grant of the right of adoption of heirs. So far as the princes were concerned nothing was more

marked in the years that followed than the growth of a devoted loyalty to the person of the Crown

There are indications that the Queen desired to have disputes between the princes and the Government of India settled by some form of judicial tribunal, for, in 1859, we find her asking the Secretary of State for India whether some procedure could not be devised for dealing in a more judicial manner with cases in which a State was threatened with sequestration, in order to 'secure the Queen from acts being done in her name which might not be entirely justifiable, morally as well as legally" But, despite the efforts of Sir Charles Wood, nothing was done at the time

Her acceptance of the imperial dignity was greeted with enthusiasm by the princes, sixty three of whom (including our honoured Chairman today) were present at the imposing durbar of January 1, 1877, when Lord Lytton announced her assumption of the title of Empress Her willingness to receive Indian princes was another trait which won for her their affection and esteem She was deeply interested in the affairs of Prince Dhuleep Singh, the son of Ranjit Singh, and she pleaded with Lord Dalhousie on behalf of Prince Ghulam Muhammad, the last surviving son of the once dreaded Tipu Sultan Her special interest in the Indian States continued to the end of her reign, and almost her last act was to approve of Lord Curzon's scheme for recruiting an Imperial Cadet Corps from the Indian aristocracy

THE CROWN AND INDIA

The earliest proposal that the Queen should assume the title of Empress came from Lord Ellenborough, who in January, 1843, suggested that the princes and chiefs of India would be proud of their position as the feudatories of an empress Ellenborough further contemplated the conversion of the Mughal palace at Delhi into a fortress and residence for the Governor-General when in the Upper Provinces. This suggestion, coming as it did before the Mutiny when there was still a descendant of the Great Mughals at Delhi, would have meant inducing the Delhi family to resign their title, for it would have been incongruous to have attempted to reconcile the Mughal title of *Padishah Ghazi* with

that of *Fiduci Defensor*. The suggestion that the Queen should assume the title of Empress of India was also made in 1858 and had much to commend it, for it would have been natural for the Queen to have claimed the same supremacy as had formerly been vested in the Mughal Emperor. She always secretly bankered after this title and, in 1873, approached the India Office, but nothing came of it. It seems probable that she was led to take this step by re-reading Ellenborough's suggestion when Lord Colchester asked for leave to publish his father's correspondence with Her Majesty. In 1876 the proposal was once more revived at her suggestion by Disraeli, who realized that it was a necessary step to strengthen the bond between Britain and India. Disraeli assured the House of Commons that the new title would only be employed in India as *Kaisar-i-Hind*, but, despite his assurances, it was not long before the Queen signed herself 'Victoria R and I' in English documents of State, and, in 1893, the words 'Ind [iæ] Imp [eratrix]' were engraved on the British coinage.

In the seventies of the last century Russophobia became even stronger than it had been in the thirties, for Russia was no longer the distant power she had been in the days of Lord Auckland. It was this Russian advance across the steppes of Central Asia which made the assumption of the new title peculiarly appropriate, for it declared to the whole world that she was the personal head of a great Asiatic Empire, a position which could never with honour be abandoned. It was an announcement to the Indian world that Britain was prepared to uphold and protect her Empire in India. Two years later, when there were rumours of war with Russia, Lord Lytton was able to report that there had been a remarkable demonstration of loyalty on the part of the Indian princes, who had been anxious to place their troops at the Queen's disposal. Some of the opposition to the Royal Titles Bill was caused by Disraeli's neglect to consult the Liberal leaders as had been the custom in the past in order to minimize controversy over matters affecting the dignity of the Crown. Otherwise it is difficult to sympathize with the criticism which the proposal provoked. Disraeli justified his policy in the following words:

It is only by the amplification of titles that you can often touch and satisfy the imagination of nations, and that is an element which governments must not despise.

In the first half of Victoria's reign neither the British people nor those in authority over them appear to have been enthusiastic about their overseas Empire. But the last years of her reign saw the growth of a strong imperialist sentiment and the Jubilee celebrations of 1887 and 1897 were primarily imperial. A striking example of the Queen's attachment to India was the selection in 1887 of two Indians as personal attendants, one of whom was appointed her *munshi* to instruct her in Hindu *stani*.

Nowhere does the monarchy play a more important part than in the sphere of imperial relations. Many are the forces which bind the Empire together. Self-interest, weakness and fear of foreign aggression, equality of status amongst the component parts or the knowledge that such a pledge has been given, community of interests and ideas, all play their part. But the most vital link of Empire is the person of the Sovereign and the Crown. Otherwise the centrifugal tendencies in this heterogeneous Empire of ours, comprising different nations and races divided by space and civilization, by religion and language, would be too strong. Moreover, without the Crown it would be necessary to formulate definitely the relations between the various parts. Loyalty to the ruler is a deep-rooted Indian characteristic, and any attempt to boycott the Coronation ceremonies in India would not only be a gesture entirely alien to the traditional courtesy ingrained in the Indian character, but it would be at variance with Indian regard for kingship throughout the ages. Until the reign of Victoria no prince of the Royal Family had ever set foot in India, and the growth of a sentiment of personal loyalty was in no small measure due to the gracious way in which the Queen and her sons fulfilled the promises she had made to her Indian subjects in 1858. She never saw India, but a knowledge of her sympathy with its peoples swiftly spread throughout the length and breadth of that great sub-continent, and even in her lifetime she became almost a legendary figure in the villages. Indeed, this personal bond

between India and the Throne may be found, when other supports crumble, to provide a rock of salvation. '

Queen Victoria died on January 22, 1901, at the age of eighty one. Her reign had lasted sixty-three years and seven months, and was only exceeded in European history by that of Louis XIV who reigned for seventy-one years. Remarkable as were the achievements of the Victorian era in this country, they differed in degree rather than in kind from what had been done in the past. The progress of India and the consolidation of three hundred millions of peoples into a great and peaceful Empire was unique in the history of the world. Though never privileged to visit her Indian Empire, Queen Victoria somehow understood its people intuitively and her sympathy conquered distance. It was therefore natural that when she died all India should mourn, for she had always been thinking of her Indian subjects, trying to learn their language, sympathizing in their sorrows, and inspiring her Viceroys and officials. All these things the peoples of India remembered. But transcending everything was the simple love of millions for the royal widow who had reigned over them so long, for her fidelity to the memory of her consort struck a particular chord of sympathy in the hearts of all Hindus. Everywhere men realized that a great Queen and Empress and a woman of unassailable rectitude had departed from their midst.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at India House Aldwych W C 2 (by kind courtesy of the High Commissioner for India), when a paper entitled "India and Queen Victoria" was read by Dr Collin C Davies H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda GCSI GCIE. was in the chair. Some two hundred and fifty members and friends attended the meeting and were subsequently entertained to tea by the High Commissioner.

At the conclusion of the paper H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda said

My Lords Ladies and Gentlemen We cannot help but admire the manner in which Dr Davies has treated his subject. He has marshalled his facts in a masterly manner and presented them to us easily and clearly. In certain expressions of opinion one may differ from him but that, however, is not a matter with which we are concerned this afternoon. We are all agreed that Dr Davies deserves the utmost thanks from all of us for an excellent lecture.

My personal contact with the British Royal Family dates back for nearly 62 years but the contact of my family is still older. That began with the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to India, when one of my predecessors had the pleasure of meeting him in Bombay. I remember as a small boy hearing the story from various sources of how the Duke of Edinburgh was received in Bombay and of all the ceremonial that had to be gone through. This was, however, before I came into existence.

My first contact with the Royal Family was when the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII) visited Bombay in November 1875. I was only a boy of 12 but I still have vivid recollections of the brilliant spectacle and the scenes I witnessed there. I remember for example how the Prince of Wales disembarked from the steamer and made his way through a vast crowd of spectators. I remember, too, how he was met by the Viceroy and many high officials in their resplendent uniforms. Several Indian Princes dressed in their colourful clothes turbans and jewels were standing by the side of the Viceroy gazing at the spectacle and anxiously waiting to welcome His Royal Highness. I remember also some of the disputes that arose about precedence and how they were settled.

Shortly after I first met His Royal Highness in Bombay he paid me a visit in my house there and gave me some very nice presents ornaments, watches, snuff-boxes and the like. In accordance with custom I gave presents in return. After a few days' stay in Bombay the Prince decided that he would like to visit Baroda, and we had to hasten back to do our utmost to make arrangements befitting his position. It was not altogether easy for at that time conditions in India were very different from what they are today. We were not then so much in touch as now with European life and its requirements. However the officers in charge did their utmost. One thing certainly satisfied His Royal Highness and that was the shikar pig-sticking and other sport we were able to provide him with.

After that I was present at the Delhi Durbar on January 1 1877 when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India That, too I remember perfectly well, and I can still picture the different Princes and dignitaries the lovely jewels, beautiful brocades and other types of dresses that the Indian Princes wore There were many fine soldiers well built and with stalwart figures It seems to me that there has been a great change in the physique of the Indian peoples since that day Whether that is a fact and if so to what it is due my friend Field Marshal Sir William Birdwood, who is present today will know better than I

I can remember the days where the Viceroy, Lord Lytton was seated, and where he stood to read the Proclamation to the Indian Princes I can remember his face, the manner in which he read the Proclamation, and the answer which was given in a few words by the Maharaja of Gwalior The then Nizam of Hyderabad, the then Maharaja of Mysore and I, were boys looking on as mere spectators We all felt that it was a great occasion though I am afraid we did not understand very much of its significance.

The third occasion when I came in contact with the Royal Family was on my first visit to Europe That was in 1887 after I had been ailing for some years from nerves My people did not understand what was the matter with me It was the then Surgeon-General of the Bombay Presidency who advised me to have a complete change and rest. My people could not understand the meaning of that advice or why I required a change of scene When the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated I was in Venice I was well aware of the importance of the occasion and was anxious to go to London but Mr Elliot my tutor suggested that it would not be wise for me in view of my indifferent health to undertake such an arduous task as a journey to London and participation in the rejoicings.

It was thus not until after the Jubilee festivities that I went to London and paid my homage to Her Majesty being invited to stay both at Windsor Castle and her favourite Osborne I have a vivid memory of Her Majesty's appearance and the gracious manner in which she received my wife and myself and other members of my party Her manner was cordial simple and straightforward and it made a great impression on me certainly greater than the grandeur of her surroundings We respected Queen Victoria far more I am sure, for the greatness of her character for her warm sympathy and for her devotion to duty than for all the wealth and power she possessed The last time I saw the Queen was in 1900 just before I sailed for India. She was then getting old but it came as a great shock when she died a little later and the whole Empire was plunged into mourning

Dr Davies has covered the ground so thoroughly that I feel it hardly necessary for me to try and improve upon his treatment of a fascinating subject. He has given us a most interesting address and ample food for thought and on your behalf I thank Dr Davies for his splendid lecture I would also like to thank the East India Association for the admirable manner in which they have arranged this representative gathering and for their invitation to me to preside

MISS CORNELIA SORABJI Your Highness and fellow-citizens of the Empire founded by the great Queen of whom we have been hearing this afternoon—I have been asked to tell you a little from out my own experience of what women in India think and have thought in the past of Queen Victoria.

My personal experience goes back a long way and a good many of my generation will recall as I do the reverence which our mothers taught us for Queen Victoria and for all that she represented. The thing which I chiefly remember is that we got from the Queen an impulse for work. It was a new idea to us in India that women could be in power that women could work and work successfully that they could care for others and could translate that care into practical sympathy. That was I think what those of us who were literate felt about the Queen. But my recollections go further back still in the things which have been told me by women older than myself and in particular by Mathaji Maharani Tapaswini, the great orthodox Hindu lady who was in such close touch with the illiterate masses of Indian woman and with the orthodox Indian community for close upon a century. She could remember pre-Mutiny times and she told me that the general idea in India was that even John Company was a kind of Queen Victoria an old woman who dressed like the red-coated soldiers of the time of the East India Company. After the Proclamation when Queen Victoria herself began to materialize as a personality myths and legends gathered around her and one of these legends, at least, lasts to this day. We have all met it sometime somewhere in India—the legend of a goddess. Many of us have seen women go to the statues—and how very unartistic these are many of them!—scattered all over the country and fall at the feet of Queen Victoria making petitions. I have seen women praying for sons to the mother of sons. I have seen widows—for after she was widowed there came a new note into their loyalty and affection—I have seen widows praying to her because she knew how they felt. Indeed, it seemed to them that widowhood was not as degrading as they were taught to think it, because the great Queen herself had been widowed and *she* could not have done anything which was not right in a previous existence so that she had to be punished in the succeeding life by widowhood! So hope came to them.

The last little worshipper I saw in India was a child of seven years of age, who ran up to the statue of Queen Victoria, on the Calcutta Maidan and fell at its feet saying *Nomo nomo nomo!* I bow at your feet O Great Queen. O great Mem-Sahib goddess, send me a mem sahib doll. So there is still apparently no petition which Queen Victoria cannot grant!

Queen Victoria's interest in social things made direct contact with the women. I remember the case of a purdah nashin whom we induced with much trouble to go into the Dufferin Hospital in Calcutta. She said to me, when she came out cured. Do you know the reason of pain in the world? I said No. She said Now I have come here I know all about it. If there were no pain in the world there would be no hospitals. She added that she realized that the hospital was founded by Queen Victoria and Lady Dufferin and her idea was that God was backing the work.

of the Dufferin scheme by sending pain into the world to justify the hospitals!

One could go on telling many stories of the attitude of our women in India towards Queen Victoria but to sum it all up as shortly as I can I think what she has given and still gives so largely both to the illiterate and to the literate is the feeling of self respect she was the first woman whom we knew who did things and we felt ourselves dignified and our individual incapacities redeemed by her power and her achievements. Then there was her care for us the respect she paid to our customs. She also gave that wonderful sympathy which rubs out all differences, while the realization of her own personal attitude towards religion went straight to our hearts, in our religious minded country especially as it led to the protection of our own ancient systems.

Finally she has made us all—has she not?—of one family and given to the Crown that personal aspect which as the lecturer has emphasized makes the King Emperor the chief cement still between the people of India within the Empire.

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA. I have the greatest pleasure in adding my humble tribute to what has been said already about the greatest Queen that this country and India have seen.

In the East we are brought up under a feeling which gives us a sort of faith in the divine right of kingship and it is with that feeling that the Indian public at large worship their rulers, whether they are Indians or whether it is the British Crown. I know that the British people themselves are very proud of the monarchy and I would not be hurting their feelings if I said that they cannot realize the deep affection and feeling that we in India have for our Royal House particularly on account of this deep-seated religious belief in our minds that kings and rulers are there by divine right. (Applause.) Of course this is also a theory of the English Constitution that the king can do no wrong. Your Government consists of the King and the two Houses of Parliament. According to your theory the King stands above all controversy.

When you have this background in your mind regarding the Indian feeling towards the ruler you can then realize the gratitude of the Indian public towards the great Queen when she brought out that famous Proclamation of hers which really was a proof of the deep and true love that she had for her Indian subjects.

The lecturer this afternoon has quoted to you certain paragraphs of that great Proclamation and I think I shall be pardoned if I read to you another two lines, for to us Indians it has always had a great appeal. Here is one sentence. We hold ourselves bound to the natives of the Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind Us to all our other subjects and those obligations by the blessing of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

How can we fail to be moved by this affectionate pronouncement of the great Queen. You should not be surprised if at various political meetings the Indian political leaders quote this sentence from the Proclamation of

the great Queen as their guarantee for the future political progress of India

There is one other sentence which I shall read to you When by the blessing of Providence internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is Our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein

If you look at the history of India since this declaration dispassionately you cannot but come to the conclusion that the Government in India have honestly to the best of their ability tried to carry out that part of the Proclamation—namely to administer India in the best interests of the Indian people. We also know that India will be one of the exceptional countries in the world where the administration of a great Empire has been gradually allowed to pass into the hands of the ruled by the rulers without a very red revolution.

I think we feel that at each stage our political progress is based on this rock which was laid down by the great Queen We feel proud of this Queen as much as anyone in this country I am sure that by her Proclamation she laid the foundations of an administration in India which is likely to continue the connection between India and England for a very long time to come for the mutual benefit of both those countries I am very happy and honoured to be associated with you this afternoon in paying homage to a great Queen who is loved and respected by us as much as she is by the English people in this country

LORD LAMINGTON I think the lecturer this afternoon has put very clearly before us new sidelights on Queen Victoria's character He has emphasized her wonderful industry her perseverance and her perspicacity I believe these qualities were greatly due to the simplicity of her bringing up It has been said that after her Coronation she went back to the palace and washed her doll I think that simplicity of character enabled her to face the problems of life with a clear understanding with no cross-currents to obscure her vision She looked at things directly and clearly Her strength of character as Dr Davies said in the paper stood her in good stead after the Prince Consort's death.

There is one instance I might perhaps recall to you that after the Prince Consort's death one of the Republics in South America—I will not mention which it was—had a very tyrannical and truculent President. On one occasion he had all the different representatives there at a big function and he had on the dais with him a lady who was not his wife Our Minister refused to bow to the lady The President was very angry, and ordered his people to seize our Minister put him sitting backwards on a horse and drive him three times round the public Plaza. The occurrence was reported at home, and Queen Victoria said, Bring me a large map of South America and show me this republic She then took a blue pencil and ran it through the republic, saying As far as this country is concerned that republic ceases to exist

She showed her intelligence of mind in matters connected with India.

First of all when the Mutiny was quelled, we had that Proclamation, which contains passages which form guarantees and pledges of this country's attitude towards India. That was a very great achievement. As we have been told not only by the lecturer but by His Highness by Miss Sorabji and by the High Commissioner, she is revered by the people of India to a most remarkable extent. In a very eloquent passage in Dr Davies' paper he recounts how intensely the Indian people mourned her.

We have not only to thank the lecturer for his paper but we are also very grateful to His Highness the Maharaja Gackwar of Baroda for coming here this afternoon and for presiding over this very illustrious gathering. This Association is very grateful to him. For a number of years he has given us the means of entertaining a company of this character from time to time. His generosity has been unending. We do welcome him this afternoon and are also very grateful to him. I would just like to mention to you a few facts. In duration of rule, His Highness competes with Queen Victoria. Sixty-two years ago the Maharaja Gackwar succeeded to a State where there had been a great deal of maladministration. Today that State stands as one of the first States in India for good administration. He has done all he could for the depressed classes. I always think the progress of Baroda has been the more difficult when we remember that the State is interlaced with British India. That must make administration more complex. There are, so to speak, islets of both territories scattered about forming many boundaries.

In this connection long ago I tried to find out whether people living in these two Indias had a preference to be in one or the other. I never could find out any distinct preference for one or the other so it speaks well for the administration in both areas as being satisfactory.

On your behalf I have to thank His Highness for presiding here this afternoon, and also the lecturer. Not only are there these two benefactors to be thanked but I add another to make up a trinity. The High Commissioner has both given us accommodation and is providing us with tea and other refreshments. Therefore by acclamation I ask you to show your gratitude and thanks to these three illustrious persons by your loud cheers (Applause).

SIR HUGH STEPHENSON late Governor of Burma writes

Listening to the very interesting lecture on Queen Victoria at the India House I was reminded of an incident that occurred in 1933 a few months after I went to Burma. The Aletawya Sayadaw Head of the Peace Mission in the Rebellion wrote and asked if I would receive a deputation. It appeared that the headman of a village in the interior had a dream that the Deputy Commissioner came to visit him in his house. He was confident that such an honour as this portended great good fortune to him and he got up early in the morning and walked outside his house meditating what this might be. At the root of a tree he saw a fungus growth which he immediately recognized as a portrait of Queen Victoria. I asked him later how he knew as he had hardly ever been out of his village he replied that he had seen pictures of the great Queen and every Burman knew what she

was like. He gathered the fungus and took it to the *hpongyi* who recognized that it was a matter of great importance and must be laid before the Sayadaws. The Aletawya Sayadaw with his fellow abbots declared unhesitatingly that it was a portent of vital interest to Burma.

As Burma had been happy and prosperous under the rule of the great Queen so the great Queen by sending her image in this way promised to restore prosperity to Burma after the troubles and adversities she had been through and that she would accomplish this during the rule of the new Governor who had just arrived. It was therefore fitting and indeed essential that this heaven sent portrait should be presented with due ceremony to the new Governor. I received the deputation of the Sayadaws accompanied by the headman and was duly presented with the miraculous portrait in a silver box. The striking thing about this incident is that no one, from the headman to the Sayadaws had the slightest doubt as to the authenticity of the portrait. Everyone of them had in their own minds their conception of the great Queen and they recognized unhesitatingly that the fungus reproduced the essentials of her appearance.

THE EMPIRE DAY AND CORONATION BANQUET

MAHARAJA OF BARODA'S SPEECH

THE Association was the senior of the eight Empire societies sharing in the arrangements for the Empire Day and Coronation Banquet held at Grosvenor House on May 24, when the guests numbered over 12,000. The Press described the function as one of the most brilliant and distinguished gatherings of Empire representatives ever assembled. Major-General the Earl of Athlone presided and was accompanied by Princess Alice. The Maharaja Gackwar of Baroda was on the right of the Chairman and Mr Baldwin on his left, and every part of the Empire was represented. The Societies responsible for the arrangements were the East India Association, the Royal Empire Society, the British Empire League, the Victoria League, the Royal African Society, the Overseas League, the School Empire Tour Committee, and the British Women's Hospitality Committee.

Mr Baldwin, who made his last public speech as Prime Minister, received a great ovation when he rose to propose the toast of "The British Commonwealth." In the course of his remarks he said:

Never has there been a greater gathering in London or anywhere else than this gathering organized tonight by the Combined Societies. The Dominions, the Colonies, India are all here and no greater honour could fall to the lot of any man than in such company to propose the toast of "The British Commonwealth."

India is an Empire within an Empire. Within itself it contains Principalities to which the attributes of sovereignty are attached. Nowhere has the conception of kingship deeper roots or more tradition or longer history. Many and powerful as have been the dynasties that have ruled in India, none has held a sway so universal and undisputed as that Monarchy of which every man and woman in this room are the servants.

In that loyalty which is focussed upon the Crown India finds that unity that she has sought so long, and we are now engaged in translating that unity into the terms of Federation, from which we hope and believe will arise an India greater than there has ever yet been. It will be largely her responsibility, but I want her to believe as I know it the sincerity of the

efforts that we have made to help her to this new Constitution. I want her to believe that that sympathy which we feel with her in this great adventure which she is undertaking is a sympathy not confined to Great Britain, but a sympathy which exists in every other part of the Empire.

To speak for India we shall have His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, one of the greatest of ruling Princes in India, who has devoted a long life to the service of his State and of India and whose government has been a model for two generations. He is one of the survivors of that great Durbar of 60 years ago when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. I should like to tell him that I had a letter only last week from an old friend who must be one of the few ladies now alive who were present at that famous Durbar.

After Mr Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, had replied for the Dominions, the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda replied for the Indian Empire. He said that

the high office of Prime Minister of the United Kingdom which Mr Baldwin was just relinquishing had been held in the past by many great men, but by none in whom the Empire had felt more undivided confidence (Cheers). Mr Baldwin took with him from the conflicts of the House of Commons the affection and esteem of the many millions who constituted the peoples of the British Commonwealth. He proceeded: That Commonwealth is no mechanical aggregation of races: it is a living organism, changing and developing as does all life. At the heart of its being are the two moving principles of liberty and of order: and if it is to be true to itself those two principles will always govern the changes and developments which are the unfolding of its innermost nature. Such changes are the necessary accompaniment of human development and the necessary condition of human happiness among the great peoples whom they directly touch.

The happiness of the people—that is the test by which ultimately all forms of government, all Constitutions, come to be judged. Will posterity be able hereafter to point to the new Constitution of India and say, With all its complexities, with all the imperfections inherent in such a work of human minds, this was, on the whole, a successful attempt to promote human dignity, brotherhood, and happiness in a vast population over a vast area of the earth's surface? This new Constitution is admittedly a welcome step towards our goal of a free and autonomous unit within the Commonwealth, though more rapid and extensive progress would have been preferred by my countrymen. So we may cherish the hope that India's political development will win from posterity a verdict to that effect. I am certain that those words may already be used concerning the great organization of which India is a part—the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is that hope and that certainty which are the source of the deep pleasure I feel in responding to this toast. (Cheers.)

Mr Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who also replied, said that no man in his generation had contributed more

to elucidating and making clear all that was best in the spirit of England than Mr Baldwin. The British Empire was the most wonderful romance in history.

Mr Neville Chamberlain, proposing the health of the Earl of Athlone, said that

he had been interested in reading some of the comments in the foreign Press upon the Coronation celebrations, and he noticed that the outstanding impression left in the minds at any rate of some of the foreign observers was a sense of unity of Empire. That unity, and our common ideals and aspirations, had given to the units of the Empire an influence and a power in the world far greater than any that could have accrued to them if they had not been thus connected and bound together. They were grateful to the societies under whose auspices they were met for the work they were doing in stimulating and fostering that sense of unity bringing together peoples from all parts and giving them the feeling that when they came to the Mother Country they were as much at home as in their own land. One was also glad to think that they had not forgotten the vital importance of enlisting in the cause of unity the youth of the Empire to whom Mr Baldwin had addressed a pressing appeal.

The Earl of Athlone in a brief reply said

I much appreciate the honour of having been invited to represent the Combined Societies as Chairman on this most interesting occasion. It is not often the fortune and the privilege of unofficial hosts to entertain all the King's Prime Ministers at the same time. Perhaps I may be allowed to borrow an expression from the City and call them the Big Five. There are also present the Prime Ministers of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Ireland and the Premier of New Brunswick. We welcome some of the Princes of India, Ministers from the Dominions and their colleagues from this country, ex-Ministers, ex-Governors-General, the representatives in England of India, and Governors of Colonies, and may I add what a pleasure it is to see tonight those ladies who have assisted their husbands, many of them alas no longer with us in such posts as Viceroy of India and Governor-General and Governors of our Colonies and Dominions, because I know only too well how much depends upon the love and affection and the help of one's wife in those positions. It is in very truth a most representative gathering of those who count in the Government of and who are responsible for the maintaining of a good understanding between, the nations of the Commonwealth.

GARDEN PARTY AT GREAT FOSTERS

MR C G HANCOCK proprietor of *Great Britain and the East* gave a garden party on Saturday May 29 1937 to members of the East India Association and others at Great Fosters Egham to meet the Prince and Princess of Berar. He was assisted in receiving the guests by Lord and Lady Hailey. The Prince and Princess were accompanied by Sir Akbar Hydari President of the Executive Council of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.

Brilliant sunshine favoured the event and added to the enjoyment derived by 550 guests from participation in a gathering held in one of the most delightful gardens in the south of England. Opportunities for tennis, swimming and other sports abounded. Tea which was served in the open air was followed by songs by Miss Helen Raye formerly of the Opéra Comique.

Brief speech making followed under the chairmanship of LORD HALEY who said: My mission is a short one. It is to introduce to you Sir Akbar Hydari, who has kindly consented to address you this afternoon. I am sure no introduction is needed on my part. In any case I as a somewhat inconspicuous person am hardly fitted to introduce one so celebrated, and I should feel bashful as a young man in introducing one who is great in years and in wisdom.

But, although I know the qualification of elder statesman is looked upon with some suspicion in Europe—because the statesman has usually been a politician—yet I will say that there is no one in India who deserves better the name of an elder statesman. (Applause.) Whether because of Sir Akbar's long experience in administrative matters in the great State of Hyderabad—whose Prince we are glad to welcome here today—whether because of that or because of his high skill in expounding constitutional matters I say there is no one that we would more gladly listen to on the topic to which I understand he will refer—namely the position of the Indian States and Federation.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR AKBAR HYDARI: I do not know how I should respond to the invitation that my young guide, philosopher and friend has made this afternoon with regard to a person who is nearing the term of his life. I do not know how I should respond to that invitation for when I first came and saw these beautiful surroundings I thought that speech would be absolutely out of court and that this was a place more for music and merry making. But I cannot go without expressing to this company and to the East India Association which has organized this delightful party our deep appreciation of the work that this Association has been doing for the last seventy years in providing a common platform for the discussion of questions which are of interest to India and England. I recall that this Association provided the first platform for Dadabhai Naorji, one of the greatest patriots that India has produced. It was this Association that gave the first platform for that Grand Old Man of India to advocate Indian reform.

I have also to take this opportunity of tendering our thanks to our most hospitable host, Mr Hancock, who has been doing such good work with his paper *Great Britain and the East*. I am one of the many Indians who look forward to receiving that excellent paper week by week in India, (Applause)

Lord Hailey has suggested that I might speak to you on the problem of the Indian States and their connection with constitutional reform. I am afraid I was not prepared for that invitation and really the subject is so threadbare that after the delightful refreshments that you have had you will not give much attention to whatever I might have to say.

There is only one thing that I want this afternoon to tell you and that is that I was privileged the other day as one of the guests of this Association, to listen to the great speech delivered at the Empire Day Banquet by Mr Baldwin. No one who was present on the occasion could be unconscious of the unity of the British Empire and of the bonds that knit together, as if it was one great family of nations, the different peoples who form the units of this great Commonwealth—bonds to which the events and spectacles which we have all witnessed in the course of the last few weeks amply testify.

British India and the Indian States have their own special contribution to make to the culture and prosperity of the Empire as a whole. (Applause) The States look forward to a time at no distant date when whilst the special features and the unique relationship between them and the Crown are preserved India will have achieved a position of equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is in a few sentences really the sum total of what we have thought, of what we have tried to achieve, the goal that we have had in view in the labours for Federation of the last seven years. We look to this Association which has on its rolls statesmen of the type of Lord Hailey and good friends of the kind we have in our host Mr Hancock to help us in the successful achievement of our ideals.

Before I sit down I must express our deep feelings of gratification at the honour conferred on Sir Frank Brown in the recent Coronation List. His name has been long associated with work for India and we all Indians and Englishmen alike would like to tender him our hearty felicitations and our prayers that he may long live to enjoy this honour and to continue the work for India which he has been doing for so many years past. (Applause)

I wish now to conclude with an expression of thanks not only on behalf of myself but of Their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Berar who are the guests of honour this afternoon and thereby to indicate the readiness which Hyderabad will always show in playing its great part as the friend and ally of the British Government and in cementing indissolubly the bonds of that great State with the great Empire which has its centre in this country. (Applause)

Mr C. G. HANCOCK. I wish to thank you very much for coming here today and to say what a great pleasure it is to me to have this opportunity of entertaining the Prince and Princess of Berar many of our Indian visitors

from overseas and the East India Association I may say that there is no trouble which is too great for me when India is concerned, because of the great debt that civilization owes to India and because of the many ties of sympathy which bind us to that great country. On the economic side India is still our greatest market and a fruitful field for the investment of capital and long may it continue to be so. It is always a great pleasure to me to meet people from our great dominion of India because I admire them so much. Perhaps this is partly because I was brought up in a school of thought which took the view that one man was as good as another—in fact, he was very much better! (Laughter)

Secondly it is a great pleasure to me because I happen to be associated with the paper *Great Britain and the East*, the aim of which is to interpret what is best in India to the people of this country and at the same time to interpret what is best in England to the peoples of India and the East generally and by the East, of course, I mean also the Far East. That is our self imposed task, and we shall go on with it regardless of whether it pleases or displeases this person or that, confident that in the fulness of time India will be better understood by the people of this country and the voice of England will be heard throughout the world. Once more thank you very much for coming today (Applause)

EDUCATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

BY THE RIGHT HON SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, K.C.S.I.

I CONSIDER it a great privilege to be asked to address an influential gathering like this on a subject which has been nearest my heart during the last five years and which has assumed great importance in the present-day life of India. I would also like to express my thanks to Lord Lothian for the very courteous manner in which he has introduced me.

When I went back from England after doing my work on the Round Table Conference in 1933, I was asked by my own University of Allahabad to deliver what is known there as the Annual Convocation Address, and in the course of that address I raised this question of unemployment in its relation to the system of education that prevailed in India. A few months later I was invited by the Government of the United Provinces, which was then presided over by Sir Malcolm (now Lord) Hailey, to be nominated to a Committee on the subject. I agreed to serve as Chairman of that Committee, particularly because I felt that the question was such that no one had a right to say 'No' when he was invited to make his contribution, however small it might be, to the understanding of it, if not to the complete solution of it.

My task was by no means easy, and for ten months my colleagues and I had to enquire in the midst of great difficulties. Our first difficulty was that there were no statistics to be had. The Universities could not furnish us with statistics of unemployment among educated persons. The municipal boards and district boards had no statistics to offer. I then approached the local Governments, with hardly any satisfactory results. And yet, as an Indian living in my own Province, in direct and close touch with educated young men of the various Universities, it was difficult for me to believe that the problem did not exist.

We recorded a large mass of evidence from officials and non-officials, Europeans and Indians, business men, professors, professional men, indeed, people of all classes. And we went round

the Provinces We visited the various important educational centres and saw things with our own eyes

I take the United Provinces as a very good illustration of the acuteness of the problem In the United Provinces, with a population of 48,000,000 people, you have got five Universities (Allahabad, the oldest, Lucknow, Benares, Aligarh and Agra), and a very large number of secondary schools, and a fairly large number of primary schools The evidence, particularly that which came from official quarters, left no doubt in my mind that the problem was very acute, and that it would not be right for anyone to assume that it did not exist or to deny its urgency

INDIGENT GRADUATES

Among the witnesses who appeared before my Committee two particularly stand out in my memory One was the Inspector-General of Police of the United Provinces, Mr Hollins, who now happens to occupy the same position in the Hyderabad State The other was Sir William Stampe, the Chief Engineer of the United Provinces, and I may tell you frankly that I look upon him as one of the greatest benefactors of the Province He has been responsible for the grid system in our Province, which has cost our exchequer a very large amount of money I do not in the slightest degree regret that so much money should have been spent over it, because it has done an incalculable amount of good to at least twelve of the western districts where the system is in force.

In addition to these two high placed European officers, there were a number of others who came before my Committee Their evidence, particularly the evidence of Mr Hollins, opened the eyes of many of us Mr Hollins said that in the course of the last few weeks preceding the day on which he appeared before the Committee he had enrolled a number of graduates as constables In the United Provinces the constable's salary varies from any thing from thirteen to fifteen rupees a month, with an allowance of one or two rupees if he is posted to certain important districts So that it came to this, that the market value of a graduate, roughly speaking, was something like £1 a month

There was evidence from other quarters equally available I concentrated more upon the official evidence than upon the non official evidence, not that I distrusted the non-official evidence, not that I was not prepared to attach value to it, but because officials could give men concrete instances from their own experience.

One of the officials of the Government came and told us that in the course of his enquiry at Cawnpore and other places he had come across cases of young graduates selling milk in the streets because they had nothing else to do. These instances were multiplied. I referred to them in the course of the Report which I drafted at that time.

As to the professions, I had some knowledge of the legal profession, of which I have been a member for over forty years. Although it is customary to speak of the legal profession as very prosperous, yet people forget that for five men who make money by the profession there are ninety five who are starving. Yet the remarkable fact is that these five Universities in the United Provinces attract a very large number of men to legal education. Most of these men join the legal profession not because they feel that there is any urge for joining that profession, or not because they feel sure that there may be a chance of success for them, but because they have nothing else to turn to. So the position of the legal profession is extremely bad.

ENGINEERING

I then examined the figures with regard to civil engineering. We have in the United Provinces two institutions, one the well known Engineering College at Roorkee, which has acquired a fame which travels beyond India—a very efficient college which has been in existence for nearly eighty years—and the other the Mechanical and Electrical Engineering College attached to the Benares Hindu University.

I should think that the engineering education in India and in my Province is the most expensive education. The evidence given by the officials of the college showed that on an average a student at an engineering college has to spend something like Rs. 130 to

Rs. 140 a month Having regard to economic standards in India, nobody could say that that education was very cheap And yet the Engineering College at Roorkee showed that a very large percentage of their students could never get any appointment any where. On the other hand, it was rather an agreeable surprise to me and to the other members of the Committee that the products of the Benares Hindu University in civil and mechanical engineering had done remarkably well According to the figures supplied to me, something like 70 to 80 per cent of their men have been fixed up in various jobs either in Government service or in private concerns

The main source of employment of the Roorkee men was Government service, but recruitment in the building branch had been stopped some ten years before. At that time it was welcomed by public opinion and it was supported by ministers, but unfortunately the result showed that not only had these men not got jobs, but that much of the work which was then efficiently performed had been much neglected

Another sort of employment for these engineers was the service in the municipal bodies and the local boards I made very close enquiries as to how many of the municipalities employed qualified engineers and how many were content with ordinary mysteries, as they are called in India The municipalities were very reluctant to give me any information, notwithstanding repeated attempts. The local government had hardly any figures to give

Then I made enquiries about each individual municipality and my worst suspicions came to be established as real facts I believe out of 85 or 86 municipalities, just a few of them employed qualified engineers, the rest are content with *mistris* or unqualified men Of course, their explanation was that the engineers were expensive things, and they had not the money to spare

CHEMISTS

Then, coming to other professions, one prominent matter was brought to my notice by a very distinguished professor of chemistry in our University, a man who has acquired by now a

world wide fame. He informed us that a good many of the owners of mills, and particularly those who were interested in the sugar industry, came up to him and asked for chemists. He recommended to them a certain number of chemists. These young men were engaged at a certain fixed salary. At the end of the sugar season—which lasts in the United Provinces for about four to five months—they were asked to vacate their jobs.

So that from one branch of occupation to another we made enquiry, and the result was that we came to the conclusion that the position of our young men in the various professions was extremely bad. If you ask me as to how far it is possible for Government to absorb the products of these Universities, my answer is very plain. I have gone into the figures very closely, and it is impossible for me to think that any Government, whether it is foreign or whether it is national, can absorb the entire products of the Universities in the various departments. I should be sorry for India if the entire aim of our young men was to get Government jobs.

Therefore on the question of fact as to whether the problem did exist and as to whether it was acute we had no doubt whatsoever.

THE EDUCATIONAL SIDE

When we came to the question of remedies our trouble began. I will not cover the ground which I have covered in the Report, but I shall very briefly tell you what our conclusions were.

It is true that the essential thing for any Government in India and for Indian society to do is to provide more openings and more avenues for our young men, but in my opinion it would be a great mistake to ignore the educational side of the problem. I do not, frankly speaking, look upon this multiplication of Universities in India as a blessing. It may be that I am very old fashioned, but I certainly do not think that the Universities or the products of the Universities derive the fullest benefit from their education at the University by staying there for four, five or six years. Do not misunderstand me. I am not suggesting that University education should be discouraged or that we should not spend adequate sums of money on our University education. In

deed, if it was in my hands, I would spend more money. But what I am saying is that it is no good to the country or to these young men that there should be an indiscriminate multiplication of indifferent graduates year by year.

It is very customary in my country to say that having regard to the total population the number of graduates is very small, and people compare the position in India with countries in the West. It was from that particular point of view that in 1935 I travelled over some countries of Europe, collected material and went into this problem, and I must express my great sense of obligation to those of my friends in England and other countries of Europe who gave me most valuable material and assistance in investigating this problem. The point to my mind is not whether we are producing a sufficiently large number of graduates in proportion to our population. The point is whether we can make effective use of the number of graduates that we produce year after year.

Why is it that University education in India attracts such a large number of men from classes from which you would not have expected to see any young men, say, twenty five or thirty years ago? At the present moment the position is that not only those classes who used to send their boys to the Universities do send their boys, but also those who were content to remain on the land, to follow certain avocations which could be remunerative—those too are sending their boys to our Universities.

The reason for that is this—that in the large majority of cases our young men go to the Universities because they look upon the Universities as passports to some careers in Government service. The number of men who go to the Universities for the sake of culture is limited.

WASTAGE

Again, I should not be understood to run down our Universities. Frankly, I do think that the standards in various Universities have been considerably raised during the last twenty or twenty-five years, and I am prepared to admit that the first-class man of today is much better educated than the first-class man of twenty five or thirty years ago. But it is not really the first-class

men who form the backbone of education. It is the second-class or even the third-class men to whom we have to look, and it is when you turn to these second or third-class men that you find that either they have not sufficient grounding at their schools on which they could build up their careers at the University, or that they were not men who came to the Universities with the object of deriving that benefit, intellectual and moral, which University education is capable of giving. It is a case of wastage.

I think that in the case of many of these men, if there were a *proper system of education, which after giving that general education had weaned them away from the ordinary customary education given in schools and Universities and put them on to some vocational or occupational training*, they possibly might have done better.

The great trouble about our educational system in the schools has been that it is far too theoretical, far too literary, much too divorced from the practical side. When you come down to primary education, you find that the boy goes to a village school for about five or six years, and after some little time he relapses into the same state of ignorance in which he was when he went to that school. The education which is given to him has no direct relation to his environment, to the life which he lived before he came to the school, and to which he will return when he goes back to his village.

Similarly, when you come to secondary education it again is of a very mechanical character. His head is stuffed with a certain amount of knowledge which he may or may not assimilate, but his character is not developed. He cannot stand on his own legs. There is no such thing as self reliance or self-dependence. He cannot make very effective use of his hands, he is weak there.

Therefore it was to me a matter of satisfaction when the Government of India issued a resolution, which was followed by a resolution of the local government, in which they suggested that in the secondary schools there should be bifurcation. There may be some controversy as to whether a student should be taken away from the literary education and put to vocational or industrial training in his sixth, seventh or eighth year.

We had those resolutions before us, and we very thoroughly examined the position, and I was forced to the conclusion, and so were my colleagues, that there must be a stage prescribed when in the case of those boys who were likely to do better with their hands they should be given a more practical education which would equip them for success in life in some vocation or in some profession. In the cases of others who in the opinion of the teachers were qualified to go further up on the ladder, so that they might go ultimately to the University, by all means I would ask you to give them every encouragement.

So that the problem, so far as education is concerned, is a problem first of adjusting the education to the surroundings in the midst of which our boys live, and, secondly, of prescribing a stage in the life of every boy when his parents and his teachers should ask themselves seriously the question whether he is likely to do well by going on to a University, or to do better by remaining out of a University and going into some vocation.

Here again we are aware of the difficulty of the problem, for if you multiply a large number of men who have received technical education, vocational education, industrial education, and who afterwards find themselves stranded—well, the problem becomes still more acute. But it seems to me that there is no one particular remedy which can be applied, and not only will the Governments who are responsible for education have to revise their policy very materially, but also Indian society will have to change its outlook.

INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS

So far as Indian society is concerned, I have been compelled to the conclusion that among people who are in a position to help our young men by employing them in various jobs there is absolutely no active desire to render assistance to these young men. I can illustrate that to you. Take, for instance, a large number of landed proprietors in our Province and in other Provinces. There is no reason why they should not employ men who have received some education in agriculture, in estate management and things of that kind, and yet they will not employ them. It may

be because an educated young man does not suit them. He is not prepared to do those things which an uneducated agent will be prepared to do. I have some positive evidence on that particular point. The experience of those of our young men who have received an education in agricultural colleges and schools has been most disappointing.

Similarly, when you come to trade and business, you find that the old-fashioned business man in Northern India has no use for a young man who has received an education in commerce, trade or business. When I went to Cawnpore, which is a very important business centre, I examined a large number of business men, both European and Indian, and I must say to my regret that the evidence showed to my mind that there was no demand for many of these young men, men who had received training as Bachelors of Commerce, among Indian business men. There were some of them employed by European firms. So far as that is concerned, I must say that I feel very strongly that our own society has still to wake up to its responsibilities.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

With regard to Government service the position is this, that you can command the services of any number of graduates at present in my Province for anything between Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 a month. I was talking to two district officers only very recently, and they told me that they had within the last few months employed graduates at salaries of Rs. 11 to Rs. 15 a month—less than £1.

That is the position. If I were responsible for the education of a boy, and if I found that I had to stint myself and to find something like Rs. 50 to Rs. 60, and at the end of five years my boy could only get Rs. 13 to Rs. 15 a month, I would not waste that money on him. That is my own feeling. I consider it a tremendous waste that all this large output of graduates from our Universities should aspire to nothing more than these small and petty jobs, and I can see no reason why we should insist on having graduates as constables or as members of low paid staffs of other departments. I should be quite content with men who had received a general education, who had received some education

which qualified them to be of assistance to their immediate superiors, who had been able to build up some sort of character in their schooldays, but I would not waste any money over producing graduates for these small and low paid appointments in the United Provinces or any other Provinces

It is for that reason that our Committee recommended that the Government should have their own standards for admission into various departments, but that they must not insist on a person being a graduate, a B.A. or M.A.

The next recommendation we made was that the age of entrance into the various departments of the Government should be reduced, so that young men after receiving their secondary education, which they would be able to complete at the age of sixteen or seventeen, should at once go into those minor jobs, and there should not be the temptation in their way of going to the University and spending their parents' money for five years and at the end then getting the very job which they might have got at an earlier stage.

I will not go into details of the various recommendations, but I will only say this—that while I was carrying on investigations in the United Provinces, I put myself in touch with the various Governments in the country—Bombay, Bengal, Madras—and also with certain Indian States where the problem seemed to me to have arisen and was most acute.

Although I would not be dogmatic about other Provinces, the general conclusion left on my mind after reading the official documents and the unofficial reports which came to me was that the problem was more or less the same nearly everywhere in India. The Bengal Government had attempted to tackle the problem. I wrote to the Ministers, and the Ministers sent me very useful information. I found that they had been able, by spending some money, to fix up something like eight or nine hundred young men. They spent money, it was wholly inadequate, nevertheless they did spend money and held themselves responsible for seeing some progress made.

INDUSTRIES AND AGRICULTURE

It has been said that the real solution of this problem lies in industrialization of the country. Well, we went also into this problem, and we came to the conclusion that although there was a considerable amount of scope for some of these young men in small industries, village industries, provided they were helped by society, provided they received some practical training, yet it would be wrong in my opinion to assume that the development of heavy scale industries alone could furnish the completest answer to this problem. It would no doubt absorb men with a technical knowledge, but up to a certain point and not beyond.

On this point I was furnished with some very valuable material by the Government of India, to whom I applied for some information. Therefore it is not my proposition that there should not be industrialization or that we should not take steps to foster heavy industries, but it would be wrong to suppose that by merely promoting heavy industries we would be able effectually to solve this problem.

Similarly, with regard to land, it is sometimes suggested in India, and has been suggested in very high quarters, that we might establish colonies of young men to work as farmers. Something of that sort has been done in the Punjab, and only last December I was invited by Sir Herbert Emerson to address the Punjab University. In the course of the preparation of my speech there I made some enquiries, and I found that the Punjab Government had been to a very great extent successful in establishing colonies of these educated men in different parts of the country, but it would be wrong to assume that what can be done in the Punjab can be done in other Provinces as well.

In the United Provinces there is no land to be had. There is one scheme of colonization. I have examined it. The land is very limited. It is full of malaria, and I doubt very much whether our young men can stand the strain of the life of a farmer in that malarious tract for many years to come. Therefore the solution of the problem will have to vary from Province to Province according to the needs and situation of each particular Province.

But I should not stake everything upon a simple formula of that character. Therefore the remedies will be various, and I do not think that the most enthusiastic among us could hope to produce results immediately. It would require great patience, the efforts will have to be spread over a series of years, but above everything else it would require money.

The numerous recommendations that were made by my Committee presupposed that the United Provinces Government would be able to find money. Unfortunately our position is none too prosperous, indeed, we are very unhappily situated so far as the financial position is concerned.

GOVERNMENT GRANTS

At the time when this Report was coming up for discussion by the United Provinces Council, I was told by the United Provinces Government that I must accept a nomination to the Legislative Council for two days, which I did. I was asked to make an appeal to the members of the Legislature for funds, which I did make, and I am happy to tell you that as a result of some bargaining between me and those who were in charge of the finances the Legislature almost unanimously voted new taxes which I asked for.

The condition which I imposed was that the Government of the United Provinces should definitely commit themselves to a policy of action in regard to this matter, and that they must make recurring grants. Accordingly the Legislature gave us Rs 4½ lakhs, which is like a drop in the ocean. Nevertheless I welcomed it, because it committed the Government to a policy of active assistance in regard to this matter. There was no trouble in raising the fresh taxation.

The important point to note about it was that the Government definitely committed themselves to a recurring grant, and I have no doubt that whichever party be in power, whether it is the Congress party or any other party, this will be one of the big questions which will have to be tackled. I have no doubt whatsoever that money will have to be found, and money must be found.

The only satisfaction that I have after working over this problem is that to a very large extent the public conscience has been aroused in this matter. The problem is attracting the attention of Governments in the various Provinces and also of Indian society. I am also happy to know that the problem has been taken up by certain Indian States, such as Travancore and Baroda. I am happy to say that my friend Sir Krishnamachari, the Dewan of Baroda, was good enough to take the Report into consideration in his own State and I believe he did appoint a Committee to go into that matter. I do not know what has been the result, but I could mention other States too who wrote to me about it.

The problem therefore does exist. It is a very acute problem, and if it is neglected it will be fraught with the gravest danger.

I will end by saying what I did say publicly during my two days' membership of the United Provinces Council, that if I was not a man of sixty, but of eighteen, and found that neither my Government nor my society made it possible for me to get two square meals in the day, I should not hesitate to belong to those disruptive movements in India of which you hear so much.

At the present moment Indian political thought is running on very different lines from those on which it used to run, say, five or six years ago. Essentially the problem before India is one of an economic character. The problem of the landlord and the tenant has got to be settled, and it must be settled whatever differences there may be on the question of remedies. Similarly the problem of unemployment among the educated classes has got to be settled, and it must be settled as quickly as possible, because I believe that if this problem is ignored, then it is not merely a danger to Indian government, but to Indian society itself.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING ADDRESS

At a social meeting of the Association at the Hotel Rubens on May 31 1937 attended by some two hundred members and friends the Most Hon the Marquess of Lothian presided and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru lectured on *Education and Unemployment in India*. Mr and Mrs H S L Polak kindly entertained the company to tea.

In opening the proceedings LORD LOTHIAN said: It is with the very greatest pleasure that I take the Chair for Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru this afternoon. It was my misfortune that I never made his personal acquaintance until the first Round Table Conference but my old friend Lord Reading had often told me about him when he was one of the members of his Executive Council and earlier of perhaps the most brilliant Parliamentary team that ever faced an opposition in the Indian Legislative Assembly a team that set a standard of Parliamentary debating in India which I venture to say will bear comparison with the most brilliant traditions of the British Parliament, and of that team Sir Tej was one of the most distinguished members.

I often saw him at work during the Round-Table Conference, and then I realized that not only was he a great Parliamentarian and a great advocate but a great statesman. I do not think perhaps full credit has ever been done to the statesmanlike way and persistent manner in which Sir Tej steered the first Round-Table Conference from the critical decision that the principle of responsible government should be adopted not only at the centre but also in the Provinces in India the critical decision which some of you may approve of and some of you may not, but which none the less was the root of all the real troubles during that Round Table Conference.

Then year after year we found him coming back always polite always wise always brilliant in his presentation of his case, but quite inflexible in his fundamental purpose. And therefore there are few men in the world for whom I have either a greater affection or a deeper respect than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

It is with the greatest pleasure that I now call upon him to speak.

(Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru then delivered his address on *Education and Unemployment in India*.)

SIR SELWYN FREMANTLE: I should like to ask Sir Tej whether the real root of the problem of unemployment in the educated classes is not the fact of the small scale on which agriculture is conducted. After all India is an agricultural country and is it not the case that if there were a real rehabilitation a real development of agricultural resources which might be arranged and which Governments are now attempting to do, would that not make the whole difference to this particular problem?

I am especially referring to co-operation, because through co-operation

the small-scale industry that agriculture now is can have to a great extent the benefit of large-scale industry. In that application of co-operation and the application of science to industry seems to me to be the only real hope of more billets for the educated man.

There is one thing I would like to say about the lecture and that is that in my opinion the boy does not go on from the school to the University in order to get a Government job but in most cases because he has nothing else to do but to continue his education and that is the reason why there are so many people at the Universities.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU That point of view was present to my mind, and if Sir Selwyn will look into the Report he will find we have attached considerable importance to agriculture and also to further expansion of co-operation. But I would not say that that would be the sole or the ultimate remedy which would provide a solution of the problem. It will be very effective no doubt, and it would to a very large extent help our young men, but along with that you will have to provide other remedies too.

SIR ROSS BARKER I was Chairman of the Public Service Commission in India for six and a half years, and consequently I saw a great deal of Indians who were seeking entrance to the Public Service.

Is it not part of the answer to the problem to aim at quality rather than quantity at the Indian Universities—that is to say first to restrict the men, choosing those who will most profit by University education and, consequently to ensure that teachers shall not be over-burdened by an excessive number of students who are not able to gain any benefit.

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU In point of fact several Universities do exercise discrimination in admitting young men from the schools. I know it for a fact that there are Admission Committees who will not admit in some cases even second-class men but they generally refuse to admit third-class men.

What has been suggested is that an arbitrary limit shall be fixed for admission into the Universities. For instance it might be laid down that there should not be more than four or five hundred students in any particular year. I am not in favour of that. If at a lower stage you wean away those men then the number will automatically be reduced.

As regards the number of teachers all I can say is that the number of teachers has considerably increased in the Universities. I can tell you that up to fifteen or twenty years ago when Sir Selwyn Fremantle was Collector at Allahabad the total number of teachers and professors was probably not more than twenty. Today it is something near one hundred and twenty and many of these men have received their education at Oxford, Cambridge, or one of the provincial English Universities or one of the Continental Universities. So that the quality of the teachers has undoubtedly improved. Recently during the last ten or fifteen years we have introduced a tutorial system in nearly every University. But while I would discourage those students from proceeding to the University who are not likely to make good I would not set any arbitrary limit.

Mr LALAKA Sir Tej has said that Indian employers are unwilling to employ educated Indians. Is there not one exception to that? In the development of the sugar industry in India has there not been a greater employment of educated Indians in engineering chemistry and agriculture? They are employed by Indian capitalists in Indian sugar factories run by Indian capital.

Sir TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU But not in adequate numbers and they have not been always fairly treated. That was the evidence before my Committee. The unfortunate fact is that so far as the old-fashioned Indian business man is concerned, he has still to learn the value of expert advice and knowledge.

In reply to further questions Sir TEJ BAHADUR said. So far as the sons of the landed proprietors are concerned, I admit that there is considerable room for education among them, and unfortunately their education has been neglected very much in the past, but I see distinctly a change in the right direction now.

Assuming that the sons of these landed proprietors were to receive agricultural education yet you have no right to assume that they would be able to go and cultivate their own lands because the lands are already occupied by tenants and unless you change the whole land system you cannot hope that these men will go and work on land which does not exist.

There is a whole chapter devoted to medical education in my Report, and the proper solution is this. Most of the medical graduates turned out by medical colleges try to settle down in big places where there are cinemas and all the amenities of modern life. It is no use your saying that the Government should provide grants. As a matter of fact, something like Rs 70,000 a year is given as a subsidy to qualified young men if they will go and settle down in the small towns and village areas but the medical men were in my opinion the most disappointing in that respect. They will not leave big towns with their cinemas.

It is no use thinking of the hakeems and vaidas today in terms of the last century. There are men with medical degrees which they have obtained either in Indian medical colleges or European who educate these vaidas and hakeems in some branches of medicine. They are trained for five years in Benares and Aligarh and the actual result of the investigation was that these men settled down in village areas and were able to make something like Rs 56 to Rs 60 a month while your qualified medical graduate was starving because he went and settled down in areas where there were very well-established doctors already.

I have gone into this question of medical education as thoroughly as I could having regard to the nature of the evidence.

Sir PHILIP HARTOG I want to ask Sir Tej one question about the establishment of small industries. When I was in Bengal I made a good many enquiries about the possibility of establishing small tanneries in view of the fact that Bengal produces more skins than any other part of the world. I was told that the great difficulty was this. One could not get

capitalists to invest their money in a small industry which would only bring in 8 per cent or 10 per cent. when they could lend money at a much higher rate of interest.

Perhaps you will allow me just to add one thing which is not a question and that is to express my deep appreciation of the services which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has rendered and is rendering, to India by the writing of that splendid Report and by the action which he has taken following it (Applause)

SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU The days of the moneylender in India are over. There has been legislation with regard to moneylenders both in my province and in the Punjab and the result of that legislation is that moneylending has become in India a very precarious profession indeed and it is becoming a thing of the past.

Further let me tell you from my practical knowledge as a lawyer that when I joined the legal profession some forty years ago at least eight out of ten cases in my province related to monies lent on mortgages on landed property. Those cases have now become practically extinct. There are other modes of investment now adopted by Indian capitalists.

Therefore I am not very much afraid of there being competition between moneylenders and capitalists, or rather industrialists seeking to invest their money in small industries.

SIR JAMES MACKENNA It gives me great pleasure in the absence of Lord Lamington, our President—who I am sure you will all be very sorry to hear is ill in hospital—to propose a somewhat comprehensive vote of thanks.

Before doing so I should like to say how much we appreciate the presence with us this afternoon of our trusted friend His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda who despite the numerous other calls upon his time in this busy season, always seems to be able to drop in to the meetings of the East India Association. He must have listened to this address on

Education and Unemployment in India with very great pleasure. Indeed I am sure he has already had Sir Tej's Report very carefully analyzed with a view to measures in his own territory.

This afternoon it is my pleasure to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to our Chairman and to the lecturer. It struck me, with two such fine specimens of Liberalism on the platform, that, however much that political party may be under a cloud both in India and in England, it is very much alive this afternoon in the East India Association.

I cannot call you, sir, as yet an elder statesman, but we all know what you do for the Liberal Party and what you have done for India. We read your speeches in the House of Lords we hear you on the wireless, and realize that we have a very staunch friend of India in the Marquess of Lothian. (Applause)

As for Sir Tej, who can fairly be called an elder statesman, it must be some twenty five years since I first met him in the old Legislative Council in Simla during Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty. You, sir, have referred to his inflexibility. I should add another quality and that is consistency.

Throughout his whole career he has stuck to his guns. He has been, like all good Liberals, horribly consistent, even to his own destruction.

Having disposed of the Chairman and the speaker I am sure you would all wish to give a very hearty vote of thanks now to two other very good friends of the Association—that is to Mr and Mrs Polak, our host and hostess of this afternoon. (Cheers.) We much appreciate such acts of hospitality on the part of members offering us entertainment.

Finally may I bring in a more domestic matter. This is the first meeting of the Association where we have the opportunity of congratulating our Secretary Sir Frank Brown on the honour which His Majesty has conferred upon him. (Loud cheers.) We are all delighted.

Ladies and gentlemen I ask you to accord this comprehensive vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharajah Gackwar of Baroda, the Chairman, the speaker, Mr and Mrs Polak, and to Sir Frank Brown.

SIR FRANK BROWN in response to calls for a speech, said: My Lord Chairman, Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen—I did not expect for one moment to take any part in these proceedings. It is my duty here to get others to speak rather than to speak myself. All I can say is that I am very deeply grateful to you for including me in this vote of thanks thus turned into a vote of congratulation. I am very proud to serve the East India Association and I am happy if any work that I have done as Honorary Secretary has contributed in any way to the aim that it has in view—that of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of India. (Applause.)

RECEPTION TO INDIA'S REPRESENTATIVES AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

THE East India Association and the National Indian Association held a reception at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, on June 11, 1937, to meet the representatives of India at the Imperial Conference and other distinguished visitors

In the absence in hospital of the President (Lord Lamington), the guests, some 500 in number, were received by Lady Lamington, Lord Goschen, the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, Sir Malcolm Seton (Chairman of the East India Association) and Lady Seton, Sir Selwyn Fremantle (Chairman of the National Indian Association) and Lady Fremantle

SIR MALCOLM SETON presided at the brief speech making which followed the serving of refreshments. He said

We very much regret that Lord Lamington, President of both Associations is unable to be here today. He has undergone a serious operation, and I am thankful to say that he is doing very well indeed. We think it very kind of Lady Lamington to have come in the circumstances (Applause.)

I want to explain that this is a joint party of the East India Association and the National Indian Association. Lord Lamington is President of both bodies. The National Indian Association is at present without a home, but it is pursuing the policy which it has pursued for so many years with so much success of promoting social intercourse between Indians and English and therefore they have been kind enough to give us substantial financial aid in organizing this party and to join us in getting it up. We owe our gratitude to Sir Selwyn Fremantle, the chairman of the Committee, whom we are glad to see here with Lady Fremantle.

The main purpose of the reception is to welcome the delegates of India to the Imperial Conference. Lord Zetland unfortunately is unable to come, and has written the following letter to the honorary secretary

I need hardly say how greatly I regret the fact that an engagement to speak at Oxford prevents me from accepting the hospitality of the East India Association on Friday afternoon. I should indeed have been glad to accompany my colleagues on the Indian delegation to the Imperial Conference to Grosvenor House. My only consolation is that in the persons of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and Sir Zafrullah Khan the delegation will be adequately and most efficiently represented. You have my best wishes for a very successful and enjoyable afternoon.

Also I am sorry to say that the new Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India Lord Stanley is prevented by illness from coming today

Of the Indian representatives it is unnecessary for me to say anything about His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda but there are one or two things that it is a duty and a pleasure to say One is that it is largely due to His Highness's generosity for a number of years that we have been able to organize our entertainments In 1932 he was good enough to make a five years grant to the Society and he has now very generously renewed the grant for five years more (Applause) You will all have followed His Highness's speeches during the Imperial Conference and at the Empire Day Banquet in which this Society participated We are also very glad to see here his Prime Minister Sir V T Krishnama Chari.

Sir Zafrullah Khan is an Indian statesman distinguished at the Bar and in public life in the Punjab and Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council for Railways and Commerce He took a leading part in the Round Table Conferences and I am assured that he has at his fingers ends the Government of India Act.

Both His Highness and Sir Zafrullah had the honour yesterday of receiving the degree of Doctor of Law at Cambridge, and I think we should wish to congratulate them Those of us who have not entirely forgotten our Latin admired the graceful language in which the Public Orator greeted His Highness and Sir Zafrullah I think we ought to have prepared two congratulations in Sanskrit and Arabic respectively for them (Laughter and cheers)

We are very glad to welcome also the Nepalese Minister and members of the Special Mission from that country for the Coronation

Yesterday was marked by the conferring of honorary degrees at Cambridge to the delegates from India and this morning has been marked by a ceremony which is of great interest to this Society Our honorary secretary, Sir Frank Brown, received the honour of accolade from His Majesty this morning (Applause) I do not know of anything in the Coronation Honours which has given such widespread pleasure and which has been felt to be so thoroughly earned by years of devoted service to India It is unnecessary for me and really it would be an impertinence for a comparatively late-comer like myself to enlarge on the services Sir Frank has done for the East India Association but until I had the pleasure of becoming his colleague in administering the affairs of the Association I had not realized the true meaning of the word indefatigable.

We hope very much that His Highness the Gaekwar will be so good as to say a few words to us

H.H. THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA The Chairman has referred to us in such an appreciative manner that it would be impossible for me to answer him adequately It is not the first time that I have been the guest of the East India Association and for its hospitality I shall always be grateful

The East India Association and the National Indian Association are doing a great work It is good that the people of this country and of

India should mix socially as much as they can and try to understand each other's ways manners weaknesses and strength. If this is studied impartially and with an open mind I am sure the respect of each for the other will be much more than exists today

The East is said never to move, but the East is changing fast We are imitating some of your best things and I think with the adoption of those manners and customs it will be more easy to mix than it has been in the past. Take the question of caste. Let me tell you that many of these old ideas are slowly but gradually disappearing At my table I have had people of the depressed classes invited to dinner and all men of different castes including Brahmins come and share the fare Years ago this would have seemed revolutionary but now people look upon such intercourse as an everyday thing and a thing that many of them think ought to come I was some years ago invited by my Muhammadan friends to have a dinner at a mosque. I went with several of my *darbaris* and gentlemen, and none of them refused to come We had a good dinner great hospitality and a very hearty reception That shows that religion does not divide us as much as some people think. The Muhammadan religion has certain principles which any intelligent man will adopt, and in the same way there are certain principles in Hinduism which others also can adopt without the least hesitation After all the principles of ethics and love are common to humanity and if those are properly interpreted and laid before the people, many of those differences of feeling and sentiment will gradually dwindle away and there will be a bond of friendship and close sympathy

SIR M. ZAFRULLAH KHAN said The first thing that strikes me is the generous and munificent hospitality that we have been offered this afternoon by the East India Association and the National Indian Association but then His Highness as well as myself are members of the East India Association, as most of you are, and therefore we are really a family gathered together

The East India Association is no mere ordinary association It has long been an institution, and I wonder whether to gentlemen who visit and re-visit London, and those of Britain who have been connected with India London would be the same place if there were no longer an East India Association. The Association has for the last seventy years sought to bring Indians and Britons together in social functions and in functions where they exchange ideas upon different matters that touch the welfare of India and individual relations of India and Britain. It is difficult to estimate how much good has been done in promoting mutual understanding on these matters between India and England through the efforts of the East India Association

I have known Sir Frank Brown the very energetic secretary of the East India Association, for now over a quarter of a century and if you knew how large a part of my age that is you would be able to guess that we started our relation with each other very early in life. You have already had proof those of you who have been connected with the East India Association, how persuasive he can be at any rate his commands are never to

be denied This morning, when we met at that very pleasant function, where His Majesty bestowed upon Sir Frank Brown the honour of knight hood for his long and distinguished service in the cause of India, Sir Frank's first question to me was Have you received my commands to speak today? I said, Yes, but if you will also tell me what I am going to say this afternoon it will make it very much easier for me

Well here we are all together and it is not necessary to say in words what kind of work the East India Association has long been doing and is doing When I walked into this room it was already fairly full and Sir Frank gave me no opportunity of walking about and meeting more than the occupants of these two tables The first person I met was Sir Louis Dane Each time I come to England my vanity continues to prompt me to remind Sir Louis Dane that as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in 1911 he bestowed several prizes upon me when I was a student at the Government College at Lahore Of course it is mostly in these functions of the East India Association that we have met each other in the last few years Here is an arithmetical problem for you as to the relative ages of Sir Louis and myself Seven years ago Sir Louis was double my age and in seven more years he will be more than double my present age

Then I see Sir Michael O Dwyer with whom one had differences in political views during the sittings of the Committee on Indian Reforms, but whom I venture to claim still as a very sincere and fine friend and I am sure the sentiment is mutual One used to tremble in one's shoes when he was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab but when one came in closer contact with him and Lady O Dwyer one began to learn how much kindness there was behind the sternness

Then I have met Sir Philip and Lady Chetwode Sir Philip as you all know is the very distinguished Commander-in-Chief who has only lately retired from India, and I had the honour to sit with him as a very humble and sincere admirer of his on the Viceroy's Executive Council I see at another table that very distinguished lawyer and judge the Rt. Hon. Sir Shadi Lal Then I have had the honour to speak to the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, whose husband was so illustrious and distinguished a Viceroy of India

But this is only at this end of the room and if all of you were to tell one another how many contacts you have renewed during the afternoon, you would be able to estimate the work that the East India Association is doing at this time when mutual understanding means so much more than ever it did in the past. I am sure we are extremely grateful to the East India Association and the National Indian Association for providing this opportunity for so many of us to come together and spend an afternoon with one another (Cheers)

PURDAH IN INDIA

By DR S N A JAFRI, BARRISTER AT LAW

THE literal meaning of 'Purdah' is nothing more than 'Privacy, a thing which is needed by women in even the most advanced countries. But the system, as practised in India, is perhaps peculiar to India, just as the caste system and untouchability, is something more rigorous than mere privacy. In its extreme form, its characteristic is the seclusion of women within the four walls of the zenana, preventing them from seeing the outer world.

As can well be understood, such restrictions are only feasible among the upper and the upper middle classes. On the other hand, the hard reality of economic necessity makes the observance of these restrictions wellnigh impossible, and hence they have always been free from restrictions in this respect. It may be of interest to note objectively the gradual disappearance of this system. Owing to the impact of Western civilization, our upper classes, including in a general sense the upper middle class, had the first opportunity to come into contact with it, with the result that they yielded to the liberal outlook of Western civilization. Gradually this change in outlook and behaviour spread to the generality of the upper and middle classes as a whole. The Dolis or palanquins gave place to motor-cars and other modern conveyances, also, the Purdah clubs or Purdah parties are symptomatic of this change. An important section of the lower middle class, however, succumbed to this change owing to their economic condition necessitating some sort of additional income from the women of the family to add to that of the men. In short, the adoption of Western culture and the stress of economic forces have been responsible for cutting at the root of this system.

The system of Purdah has come in for much adverse criticism, and this has led some Indian enthusiasts who are unacquainted with their histories to disown it and attribute it to extraneous influences. Students of history, however, know very well that Purdah, as it exists in India, is an ancient indigenous institution and that it existed in one form or other in ancient times in many countries of the world. As Mrs Frieda H Das writes in her book on *Purdah*, "It arose along with the division of persons into high and low castes and the seclusion of women became the hall mark of aristocracy." Another authority on Indian social questions, Mr N C Mehta, I C S, writes in his book on *Contribution*

of Islam to Indian Culture It is, of course, untrue that Islam brought the Purdah into this country. Seclusion of women can be traced in all ancient communities, and it was particularly among the aristocracy during the palmy days of Hindu civilization. Indian Muslims followed the custom of the country and adopted the prevailing hallmark of gentility. Purdah tended to become stricter, and Manu's Laws, a special feature of which was distrust of women, contributed especially to that state of affairs. The only time when women were allowed to come out was the 'Swayambra' or the wedding ceremony.

The following few quotations and instances from the most authentic Hindu scriptures and ancient lore serve to prove the existence of the Purdah system in this country from the times of the Aryans. Let us take the two most authentic records of civilization which every Hindu regards as sacred—namely, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. It will be seen from these books that Purdah of the most rigorous type existed in those days in the distant past when women like Sita and Drupadi could claim that their persons were not seen by the sun and the winds, and not even by the gods themselves.

When Sita came out of her seclusion to accompany Rama in his banishment the people felt greatly agitated seeing their Rani out and cried out, 'How bad times have become that Sita, of whom the gods could not obtain a glimpse, has now come out to face the vulgar gaze.' *Ramayana Yodhya Kandam*, Swarj 33, Sloka 197.

In another episode in the *Ramayana* it is said that when King Rama, after his conquest of Ceylon, asked for his consort Sita to be brought to his presence, the companions of the King began to clear the hall of men, on which King Rama, as one learned in the Hindu scriptures, pronounced the following verdict:

Listen, gentlemen! On the occasions of grief or helplessness or war, or the ceremony of choosing a husband, or a sacred sacrifice, or matrimony, it is no sin for a woman to come out of her seclusion or for men to cast their looks on her. This Sita is grief-stricken and helpless, and there is no harm if she comes before men, especially in my presence." *Ramayana Yudh Kandam*, Swarj 114, Sloka 942.

When Raja Bibhesan brought out Sita from her seclusion and conducted her to the presence of King Rama, she felt so shy that she bent low and could not walk as if she was covering herself in her own body" (*ibid*).

Similar references to the strict seclusion of women are found in the *Mahabharata*, and one characteristic episode is that of Yudhishthira losing his wife Drupadi in the gamble, and when the

winner Duryodhan tried to take her out in the open, she be wailed "The Rajas had seen me only on the occasion of choosing a husband (Swayambara) No one saw me ever before or after it. Even the sun and the winds could not see me But misfortune has forced me to appear before men today Alas! The Rajas have lost their ancient faith (Sanatan Dharm) No gentleman ever brought his wife before man But, alas, now religion finds no place in the family *Mahabharata*, Sloka 4, 5, 8, 9, *Sabha Paroh*, Adhyaya 69, p 61

In the Puranic days we also find the same rules of Purdah, and it is said that when Raja Manas, the uncle of Raja Sri Krishna, held a wrestling bout in Muttra and invited the royalties from far and near to attend it, he constructed enclosures for females in such a manner that they seemed to be floating high in the air, and thin porous cloth was drawn over to let the women watch the match below *Hariwans Purana*, *Vishnu Paroh*, Adhyaya 19

In the *Brahma Purana*, Sloka 39, Adhyaya 22, the public appearance of women is most emphatically condemned and a feature of Kalyug—i.e., the age of decline—is said to be that women will become so corrupt that they will adorn their tresses and walk about in the open, not caring for the admonitions of their husbands and elders

From these sacred books we come down to lighter literature, and we find in the *Harish Charitam of Ban*, Act 1, Scene 3, that the veil is mentioned as a sign of a noble woman, and at one place it is said, 'As a veil on the face of a noble woman.'

When Raja Dushyant saw Shakuntala for the first time, he exclaimed, 'This appears to be a fully veiled girl, who has covered her body so closely that her body is completely hidden. In the house of these mendicants she appears to be a little sapling covered with dry leaves' *Shakuntala Ankor*, Sloka 13

We also find a trace of this in *Kautala's Artha Shastra*, a book written about 300 B.C. We find there laws for making contracts between women who lived in seclusion and others which are absolutely peculiar to such women. *Artha Shastra*, edited by Shama Shastri, 1919, p 188 of English translation, and p 147 of original edition, 1909, 3rd *Adhi Karan Dharm Shastriyam*, pp 147 148

Mr N N Law also mentions this in his book on *Ancient Hindu Polity* (London), 1914, p 144

Mrs Frieda H Das, commenting on the effects of Manu's Laws on women, says, on page 27 of her book on *Purdah*, 'It is Manu's code that has had the most negative effects forging the unbreakable shackles on Indian women for countless generations'

The same author remarks on page 93 of the book referred to above, "Classical and later Hindu literature teems with slighting

references to woman's character. One may trust most deadly poison, a river, a hurricane, the beautiful, large and fierce elephant, the tiger roaming for prey, the Angel of Death, a thief, a savage, a murderer, but if a man trusts a woman, he will surely be reduced to wander through the streets in desolation. It soon inculcated in their minds the deep conviction that freedom of movement outside the house would lower their standing and place them on a common level with low castes.

It is important, however, to remember that this is not peculiar to Manu or India alone. In ancient times the view commonly held by the sages of different countries was not different from this. According to Socrates, Nothing in this world is a greater source of trouble than woman. The Greeks, indeed, thought that it was easy to treat a snake-bite, but it was impossible to counteract the wickedness of woman. John of Damascus said, A woman is the daughter of wickedness and an enemy of peace.

Islam, however, recognized companionship of women, gave them contractual rights in marriage and rights in movable and immovable property both for husbands, parents and other relations.

It will be of interest to note here how Muslim thought influenced this system. At the advent of Islam in Arabia, there were some kinds of veiling current there. But Islam did not countenance any of them. Being, however, opposed to coquetry it encouraged two things already in vogue there—namely, 'Jalbab' and 'Khimar'. The former is a loose sheet worn over the dress also in India, especially by the Kshatriya women when going out. The latter was precisely the same sort of dress as nuns wear. In this the face, hands and feet were never covered. Women were allowed to walk freely and were never kept in seclusion. Only they had to go about modestly. The following quotations from the Quran clearly bear out the point that women were free to go about, only they were required to be modest. "Say to the believing women that they cast down their looks." (Part 18, Chapter 24, Section 31, Act 30). The same injunction is repeated at the same place for men also and they are also ordered to cast down their gaze. It is quite evident from this that men and women have been treated alike in this matter. There was no need for these injunctions, if men and women were not allowed to go about freely and come in contact with each other. Another passage of the Quran clearly shows that Islam never ordained concealing of face and hands. It enjoins upon women "not to display their ornaments, but says that this restriction does not apply to things that must appear (Part 18, Chapter 24, Section 4, Act 31). Again, the Quran sanctions that the women should go about and earn their living.

It is a historical fact that Muslims took their women into battle with them and allotted to them the same duties of nursing the injured and giving relief as is discharged today by the Red Cross and Red Ahmar Societies and Seva Samaties

During the lifetime of the Prophet, women used to be taken by the Arabs in holy wars. Thus Omm-e-Atiya had accompanied the Prophet in various wars seven times. The Prophet also took with him his wife Aisha, and other women of the tribes of Omm-e-Muslim and Ansars (*Sahih Muslim*). Safia bravely killed a Jew in the War of Khandaq. In the same war Omm-e-Amara saved the life of the Prophet (*Sirus Sahabiyat* pp 4 and 5). Gibbon in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* relates the story of the wife of Aban in connection with the battle fought on the plain of Aznadin. She had followed her husband to the holy war in which he was killed. She took an oath to avenge his death, and was actually successful in wounding the aggressor. History also proves that during the days of the Prophet, women attended mosques as they still do in many places.

According to the late Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, 'Women continued down to the accession of Mutawakkil, the 10th Caliph of the House of Abbas, to enjoy an extraordinary amount of freedom. Fathers were still proud of assuming surnames after their accomplished and beautiful daughters and brothers, and lovers still rushed to battle acclaiming the names of their sisters and lady-loves' (*A Short History of the Saracens*, p 200). The well known author Abu Tyyab Mohammad al Muffazal ad Dibbi, returning once from Mecca, halted at a watering place not far from Medina. He was very tired and fatigued and went to stay in a neighbouring house, where he was welcomed and allowed to stay for a while by a maiden who was all alone in the house. Both began to chat, and 'the words like pearls were scattered from her lips'. Whilst they were thus conversing, her grandmother entered and sat down by their side, "laughingly warning the stranger to beware of the witchery of the fair girl".

Islamic history furnishes innumerable examples of their learning, writings and oratory. Ummul Banin, wife of Walid I and sister of Omer II, was a remarkable woman of her time, who scolded and gave a memorable lecture to famous Hajjaj Sakina, the daughter of Hosain, the martyr of Karbala, has been regarded as 'the first among the women of her time by birth, beauty, wit and virtue'. Her residence was the resort of poets, jurists and learned and pious people of all classes.

Thus was the position when Muslims were in their pristine glory and the influence of other civilizations had not dominated them. Later some shades of seclusion developed among them.

too, especially through Persian influence. But women were never shut within four walls even then.

Thus was the state of things when Muslims came to India. Those, however, who came were very few, and the millions of Muslims we find in India today are all Indians by birth, descent and race and naturally the aristocracy among them kept up the old habits of their forefathers which came to them as a legacy from their old civilization. The humbler of them, however, began to use Burqa (the covering from head to feet—very similar to the shape of a shuttle-cock) and go about in that dress to visit friends or for shopping purposes. Those, however, who came from the menial class, as unfortunately it is known in India, in spite of the Islamic injunctions to the contrary, did not use any such covering. However, modern influences and national needs are coming to our rescue, and we see now even elder women of the aristocracy shaking off seclusion. The intelligentsia, especially the young intelligentsia, both among Hindus and Muslims, feel themselves in opposition to this old custom, and as education is increasing and consciousness is growing among women they seem determined to eliminate the system.

THE ROMANCE OF MODERN JOHORE

BY SIR R O WINSTEDT, K B E , C M G , D L I T T

(Formerly General Adviser to the Malay State of Johore)

As I watched Sultan Ibrahim of Johore riding in the Coronation procession behind Mr Baldwin and the Premiers of the Dominions, my mind leapt back to April 25, 1935, when, on the day before I left Malaya after thirty-two years service, I heard His Highness' voice over my telephone in Johore Baharu, the capital of his State, saying, 'I am very fond of the King and I want to do something about the Jubilee. Can Johore afford to give half a million pounds for the defence of Singapore as a Jubilee gift and would it be acceptable to the British Government?' His Highness, who weekly presides at his Executive Council, was as well aware as I that Johore could afford it, but the offer was startling in its magnitude, even for one of the wealthiest of the Malay protected States, and doubly startling broached in His Highness' informal way over the telephone. But what to my mind gilded that offer above price was that neither I nor any other Britisher had ever breathed such a proposal into the Sultan's ear.

It was as a youth in 1895 that Sultan Ibrahim ascended the throne of Johore, when on a June evening his father, Abu Bakar, died at Bailey's Hotel, an event today perhaps within the memory of few Englishmen except the Duke of Connaught, who twice visited the dying Malay ruler. Abu Bakar was the grandson of the chief who in 1819 sold Singapore to Stamford Raffles to become a British possession, and indeed from that time down to 1889 the ancestors of Sultan Ibrahim actually lived in Singapore, wars having compelled the Malay court to abandon in 1718 its Johore capital for Riau and then Lingga, islands in the archipelago of which Singapore is a geographical unit. In fact, when the British started to develop Singapore, the sole relics of a former kingdom in Johore were, as a Malay MS. remarks, the dilapidated tombs of its nobles and a few gold coins. It was my fortune to discover far up the Johore river one of those tombs, that of a Sulaiman Shah, mentioned in D'Albuquerque's *Commentaries* but otherwise unknown until the inscription on his grave revealed him as the son of Mansur Shah, Sultan of Malacca from 1458 to 1477 and grandson of Muzaffar Shah, Sultan of Malacca from 1445 to 1458. The tomb of Sulaiman's brother, who became Sultan Ala'u d-din Shah of Malacca, I discovered with the help of Tengku Ahmad, the youngest son of the present Sultan of Johore, in

Muar, a province of Johore, in an old graveyard, along with an anonymous fifteenth-century tomb, inscribed with the usual texts from the Quran and with a quatrain from *The Arabian Nights*, which Burton has rendered

Thou wast create of dust and cam st to life,
And learned st in eloquence to place thy trust
Anon, to dust returning thou becamest
A corpse as though ne'er taken from the dust.

These and a few other tombs and the dragon creese of Sultan Muzaffar Shah, now in Raffles Museum, Singapore, are practically all that is left of fifteenth-century Malacca and Johore, though both have older relics surviving from Hindu and even neolithic times. Their later history, too, is a fascinating subject for those interested in the chronicles of Portuguese, Dutch and English trade and adventure in Eastern waters, but I have told it at length elsewhere, and here space confines me to an account of how modern Johore rose from its dead past on the stepping-stone of that great port which British enterprise created out of the man grove swamps of Singapore.

For with their indefatigable industry the Chinese who flocked to the new British settlement got the Proto-Malay pagan aborigines to bring down Johore's rivers rattans, wax, lime, resins, eagle wood, ivory and gold-dust, and tin in small quantities. Still, however, even in Johore's more populated districts near Malacca, a writer in the 1830's records, "Owing to fighting among petty Malay chiefs, the thriving rice fields have degenerated into barren marshes, an enormous forest, peopled with wild elephants, overshadows a soil naturally rich and prolific, while the gaunt rhinoceros and uncouth tapir stalk unmolested over spots once, if tradition belies them not, the sites of large and populous towns'. Then, between 1835 and 1840, the failure of the spice plantations on Singapore island caused many of its Chinese agriculturists to migrate across the narrow strait of Johore, the strait since 1924 bridged by a causeway carrying a railway and motor road. Opening pepper plantations, these Chinese began to increase Johore's small population and revenue, and in 1843 gutta percha (Malaya's wild indigenous forerunner of the imported para rubber) was discovered and fetched such a high price that the few civilized Muslim Malays then living in the State abandoned their rice fields to collect the latex. In five short years the trade, of which nine-tenths was in the hands of Sultan Ibrahim's grandfather, was worth \$150,000 to \$200,000 a year, and if this old chief copied the obsolete Dutch system of monopoly, he made a public-spirited use of his profits, endowing Malay and English missionary schools in Singapore and defraying half the cost of two gunboats for the

suppression of piracy in local waters. At the same time he displayed that fearless independence which was to characterize his son and grandson, and occasionally he paid a Singapore lawyer two or three thousand dollars to indict stinging epistles to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, epistles which the dispassionate historian of today must hold to have been justified. One of his last political acts was to protest that the phrase, 'adjacent seas, straits and islets, to the extent of ten geographical miles from the coast,' in the 1824 treaty finally ceding Singapore, was never meant to imply the surrender of the southern part of Johore itself, and those interested in the law's delays will note that this error, though admitted, was not rectified by Act of Parliament until the present century.

When, in 1826, Abu Bakar succeeded his father, the Malay States were no longer united against the Dutch East India Company or controlled by the old Malacca Johore Empire (which Holland and England had split up for ever), so that for years what are now the prosperous Federated Malay States, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, had been in a turmoil of civil war and difficulties with immigrant Chinese tin miners. But though the Governor of the Straits Settlements duly reported that outside Johore and the northern Malay States under the suzerainty of Siam there were confusion and anarchy, with consequent disturbance of trade, yet inheriting the tradition of John Company, the India Office steadfastly refused to intervene. Abu Bakar, however, could not thus stand entirely aloof. Marriage ties and the cession by his cousin, the ruler of Pahang, to Johore of Tioman and other islands compelled him to do his utmost to support that ruler against invasion by a younger brother. The pretender won, took back the islands and founded the present Pahang dynasty, whereupon, with the opportunism he had studied in the old John Company, Abu Bakar accepted defeat, had indeed to do so as Fort William refused to assist him against invasion. In the fratricidal struggles of Selangor royalty Abu Bakar did not see eye to eye with the British Government, and said so, 'with the full knowledge that I should not lose a tittle of the confidence or consideration of your Government because my views did not coincide with yours. Instead, I may claim to more, if anything, as my own sentiments were suppressed, because opposed to those of your Government, I have acted in conformity with the latter.' Lord Kimberley declared that he had never suspected Abu Bakar's good faith, so that when in 1875 Mr Birch, the Resident of Perak, was murdered, the Johore ruler was again called upon to be the intermediary between his own race and the British, and there was even a proposal from London that he should be offered the Perak throne. By a series of treaties signed at Government House,

Singapore, in 1876 and 1877, several small Negri Sembilan chiefs agreed to refer their disputes and difficulties to the arbitration of Abu-Bakar, who went so far as to send a sort of Malay Resident to advise them. Finally, in 1886 the British invoked his aid to bring peace and security to Pahang. For a while it had looked as if Abu Bakar might hope to restore Johore's ancient suzerainty over the Malay States of the Peninsula, but in 1867 Malaya's affairs had been transferred from the India Office to the Colonial Office, which in 1873 decided to start the Residential system. After the Perak war consequent on Birch's murder, that system grew rapidly and led to Great Britain acquiring the suzerainty once exercised by Abu Bakar's ancestors and before them by the Sultans of Malacca.

But if he was disappointed in his imperial ambitions, Abu Bakar's abundant energy wrought miracles in Johore. Struck by the dignified tempo of Malay life, the European is too apt to accuse the race of laziness and apathy, whereas the amazing industry of Abu Bakar in the Pahang war and in Johore affairs, for example, led me elsewhere to compare him with D Albuquerque, who found time to sign indents for flags, for dressings for an elephant, and for food for a panther on its voyage to Portugal and to initial payments to natives who had carried oyster shells to make mortar. So, too, Abu-Bakar's correspondence covers advice on opium smoking, advice on Pahang taxation, instructions for cleaning rifles, the proper doses of medicine for fever, the housing of Pahang women refugees, the supply of salt, rice, tobacco, biscuits and guns for the fighters, timber-cutting in Johore, the indebtedness of Chinese sawyers, the provision of a Chinese graveyard, modern land laws for Johore, requests for flowering forest trees for his palace garden, and innumerable other details. In 1866 he paid his first visit to Europe, was granted an audience by Queen Victoria, met the Prince of Wales, and toured England with an eye to the needs of his own country. When he came to the throne, Johore's present capital had been little more than a fishing village. In 1885 the then Duke of Sutherland, visiting it in his yacht, found a little town with 10,000 Chinese and 'a market place of architectural pretensions,' and was taken to inspect plantations of coffee, tea, cloves, gambir and pepper. The Duke's piper trained the first Malay ever to play a Scottish reel, and the Duke tried to eat a durian. His host played cricket and billiards, quoted Tennyson, and kept a stud. In 1882 the Sultan had already entertained the late King George V and his elder brother, the royal princes finding 'the huge drawing room like one of the state rooms at Windsor and furnished from London,' and being entertained by a Malay regatta, Chinese conjurors and the Singapore races, to which the Sultan drove them in his coach.

Like his son, Abu Bakar was a great traveller, visiting India, Java, China and Japan, and in Europe meeting the Kaiser, the Emperor Francis Joseph and Sultan Abdu'l-Hamid of Turkey. For her Jubilee in 1887 he had presented Queen Victoria with a silver model of the Albert Memorial, and on his next visit was invited to Windsor Castle, Johore still treasures a letter in the Queen's own hand thanking Abu-Bakar for a walking-stick and signing herself his affectionate friend.

Travelling *en grand seigneur* must have cost Sultan Abu Bakar large sums, and absence from his State owing to ill health had led to its finances getting into a mess. When the present Sultan came as a youth to the throne, he found an empty Treasury and no staff competent to keep proper accounts. He scaled up the Treasury, collected a staff and defied the "wicked uncles," who reported him to the Governor at Singapore for violating tradition and prophesied openly that he would die young. The Governor considered that Sultan Ibrahim was a young ruler trying to do his best in very difficult circumstances, and he declined to interfere unless the Sultan invoked his aid. As for threats, a boxer in his youth, a keen horseman and ardent big game hunter, who shoots driven tigers on foot, Sultan Ibrahim has never known what physical fear is. On two occasions when armed lunatics attempted his life he dodged their weapons and captured them himself with his bare hands. One day he found his police hunting for a murderer. When the fellow emerged from the jungle drawn cutlass in hand, Sultan Ibrahim, unarmed, walked up to the mad man and, offering him a cigarette in return for his weapon, persuaded him to surrender. Like his father and grandfather, Ibrahim has boundless energy, needing only a few hours sleep. As a boy he was intolerant of book learning, and though he passed through a Malay school, he studied in an English school for one day only after which he ran away to the horses he loved. Today he is bilingual, speaking English and Malay with equal fluency, and having also a smattering of Chinese, Tamil and Arabic. Quite early he recognized the need his growing State had of expert financial and legal assistance and employed as his unofficial adviser Mr. Buckley, a well-known Singapore lawyer. Later he engaged a former Resident of one of the Federated Malay States. And then, finally, in 1914, he asked that there should be accredited to his court a seconded British civil servant to be styled General Adviser, whose advice His Highness engaged to accept on general administration and on all questions other than those touching Malay religion and custom. At the same time he stipulated that Malays and Europeans in his service should be treated on terms of equality, and he arranged to appoint Europeans, official and unofficial, to his State and Executive Councils. For years as its

Colonel His Highness had devoted much care to the very fine Johore Malay regiment, for some time giving up half his privy purse towards its maintenance. At the outbreak of the Great War Sultan Ibrahim placed himself and his regiment at the disposal of His Majesty's Government, and under his personal command the regiment, whose marksmanship and smartness on parade are above the ordinary, took part in the suppression of the Singapore mutiny, while the wife of the Governor and other ladies found a refuge in his palace at Johore.

In 1914 the revenue of Johore, a State of the size of Wales, was £507,838, in 1928 it was £2,414,776, and in the current year is likely to reach a higher level than it has ever attained. The main sources of that revenue are Customs duties on tin and rubber, land rents and excise. There are Government Departments dealing with administration and justice, land and surveys, agriculture, forestry, mines, medical services and health, education, police, all of them with a mixed personnel of British and Malays. Enough for most men would be the labour Sultan Ibrahim has personally exerted in the development of his State, with its modern roads and railway, its postal and telephone services, its electric lit towns and their water supplies and its medically inspected estates. But his abundant energy, coupled with a keen business brain, led His Highness in the very early days of rubber to plant several thousand acres of his own property with para, about which he would ride on daily inspection while many of his subjects were still in their beds. Another example of his prescience is that he could foresee the development of motor traffic, and, rather against the views of British officials, insisted on the construction of a motor road alongside the railway on the causeway joining his State to Singapore.

I met Sultan Ibrahim in London after the Coronation festivities and told him that I was writing this paper on Johore. "Is there anything you would particularly like me to say?" I asked. "Only this," His Highness replied. "Say that the Sultanah and myself have been overwhelmed at the warmth of our reception in London and at the hospitality that has been lavished upon us." Yet, when they return to Johore, time will not hang heavy upon their hands. The Sultan will go back to his life-long task of studying the interests of his State, and the Sultanah will take up again her work for Malay womanhood and devote to a new palace, now building, those talents for decoration which have made the Sultan's Singapore house the most tastefully furnished in Malaya.

EDUCATION IN TURKEY

By Z M NIKSEL

HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

THE present state of Education in Turkey cannot be fully understood without a survey embracing the origins of the Turkish Empire and its subsequent political and social phases. The edifice of education in Turkey is so new, so different from the past, that it seems to have no relationship to the system prevalent until a quarter of a century ago. Amazing changes have effaced all vestiges of parentage between the old and the new. Nevertheless, the link between the past and the present must be detected and described. Without knowledge of the past the present would not impress itself with the necessary strength and clarity. If today the principles governing education in Turkey are so divergent from those prevailing before, that may be explained partly by the fact that Turkey was very backward and partly by the impact of the reaction.

Education in Turkey may be divided into three main periods

I The theocratic period from the origins to the Tanzimat (1300-1839)

II The transition period from the Tanzimat to the proclamation of the Turkish Republic (1839-1923)

III The reform period (1923-1937)

Of these three periods, the first has endured five centuries, the second scarcely a century, while the third, only 15 years old, has already achieved a deep and far reaching transformation.

THE THEOCRATIC PERIOD

The Turkish tribe of Kayihan which came from Central Asia and settled down on the borders of the Aegean and Marmara Seas, adopted the Islamic faith. This event exerted great influence on the future destinies of the Turkish Empire. At their first contacts with their Muslim neighbours, the Turks found a high stage of theological and juridical learning. The Islamic religion had already an all-embracing code regulating the relations between the citizens and the State and between the citizens amongst themselves.

When the Turks abandoned their nomadic life and settled down in the conquered country they had to create in addition to

the military hierarchy and discipline a civil and judiciary organization. This led the Turks to open early, in Nicea and Broussa, medresses which trained the "kadi," the "mufti," and the major part of the State officials. The medresses increased and thrived until the end of the reign of Soliman the Magnificent. They provided the State with many prominent dignitaries. But, by their very nature, they could not develop. Furthermore, they degenerated with the decline of the Turkish Empire. The few attempts that were made to introduce in their programme matters of modern science remained sterile. The spirit of the medresses was irreconcilable with the spirit of evolution. Not only could the medresses not keep pace with the progress made in Europe, but they even constituted a stronghold of the fiercest and blindest conservatism.

Besides, the medresses were deeply marked with the Islamic stamp. Islam, like the Roman Catholic Church, is universal. It has no frontiers. It takes to its bosom all who are willing to tread the path to salvation, and it erects walls between Muslims and non Muslims.

That was perhaps one of the reasons which hindered the multifarious elements of the ancient Turkish Empire to become amalgamated. That explains also why Turkey awoke so late to a national consciousness and why Arabic and Persian literature took such deep root in the Turkish written and spoken language.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

The Tanzimat represents the big exertion made by the Turkish Empire to follow new paths. It created the modern school, but left the medresses in their original state. The men who had the care and the nurture of the young could not free themselves from the rooted prejudices of the time. While the medresses continued their old activity in their old channels, the country had one eye turned to the past and one eye turned to the future. Mediæval and modern teaching, the first under the authority of the Sheikul Islam, the second under the authority of the newly created Minister of Public Instruction, was inculcated into the minds of the youth. This created a state of things which greatly jeopardized the unity of the nation. Though timorous and vacillating, the reform was nevertheless a rosy dawn. Schools, primary and secondary, were erected in many parts of the Empire, where Arabic was not the sole teaching.

Apart from the School of Engineers, the War Academy and the School of Medicine, created during the last years of the theocratic period, the following schools were established in this transition era. The modern Lycée of Galata Saray (1868). In this

lycée the instruction was imparted mostly in French by French professors. This school provided the majority of the diplomats of the ancient and new régimes

The civil service school 'Mulkiye' (1876) This school trained the majority of the governors ('valis') and sub governors ('kaymakans') of the provinces

The law school "Hukuk Mektebi" (1879) The shariat had been codified before and promulgated as law under the name of Mejlle. During this period a large volume of legislation had been achieved

THE REFORM PERIOD

The salient feature of this period is its complete detachment from the past. The transition period had already shown that half measures and compromises would hamper the speeding along the road leading to new democratic ideals. In consequence, four main principles were accepted as the basis of the new system of education: (1) Laicization, (2) unity, (3) abolition of difference of teaching between the two sexes, (4) training of the body as well as of the mind.

The outstanding changes which have given to the Turkish cultural life of the last decade quite another aspect are: (a) The adoption of the Latin alphabet, (b) the reform in the tuition of Turkish history, (c) the reform of the language.

The adoption of the Latin alphabet has contributed greatly to the spread of instruction in all the layers of society. The Arabic alphabet uses very few vowels. The Arabic moulds or forms made up, to a certain extent, for the absence of vowels, but the Turkish language has quite a different morphology. They formed on account of this fundamental difference an ill assorted partnership. The adoption of the Latin alphabet is one of the most sweeping reforms of Atatürk. People who had remained illiterate until middle age could learn in a few days to read and write.

The corporation of public writers, which in the corners of mosques wrote petitions and letters with reeds of different sizes and lengths, belongs to the picturesque old Turkey. Certainly one still sees today in the streets of Ankara and Istanbul a few public writers who with rickety old typewriting machines draft epistles and documents, but they are the last remnants of the profession.

THE TEACHING OF TURKISH HISTORY

During the ancient régime the history of Turkey was considered to be a continuation of the history of Islam. The Turks were after the Seljukians, the standard bearers of the Muhammadan

faith. Until twenty years ago the history of Turkey was taught in the primary and secondary schools after the history of Islam and as a natural and chronological sequel. Now the history of Turkey is taught as a part of the history of the Turks. Under the auspices of the society for historical researches a new history book has been compiled with the required gradations for different classes. The new tuition makes the Turkish boy and girl feel themselves not an heir to the Arabs, not a crusader of the faith, but a scion of the Turks and the torch bearer of another culture with its cradle in Central Asia.

THE REFORM OF THE LANGUAGE

The Turkish language has been rendered cumbersome and unwieldy through the infiltration in the course of many centuries of a quantity of Arabic and Persian words and phrases. In reality the evil was engendered less by the words themselves than by the plurals and phrases. The Arabic forms of plural, the Persian possessive and adjectival forms linked together in long sentences (‘*terkibi izafi*’ and ‘*terkibi vasfi*’), gave to the Turkish language a hybrid appearance and made its acquisition extremely hard. This gave birth to a class of mandarins and dug a gulf between the learned classes and the people.

Since Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Ekrem and others the Turkish language has undergone a purification and little by little rid itself of its dross. But this process seemed to the radicals to be too slow. As a reaction from the subordination of the Turkish language to the Arabic and Persian the movement to abolish the Arabic and Persian forms was begun and the watchword circulated to dispense with Arabic and Persian words whenever Turkish substitutes were available. In order to employ as few Arabic and Persian words as possible, Turkish philologists searched in Turkish provinces and villages and in other countries where Turkish is spoken for Turkish words which would fill the gaps left by the abolition of non Turkish words.

This movement has so far followed a zig zag course. The sharp turns have been corrected by the good taste of the enlightened part of the nation. The movement seems to have subsided somewhat, but as the process is going on and its boundaries are not yet quite visible it would be premature to pass judgment upon it.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS

During the Sultanate and until twenty years ago primary education was imparted in Turkey by the Ministry of Public Instruction, by foreign schools, by schools belonging to non Muslim

communities, by those under the authority of the Sheikul Islam, and by those managed by the Evkaf (religious endowments). The law of March 3, 1934, unified the education and put an end to this anarchy. All primary schools are now either under the direct authority of the Ministry or under its effective supervision. The primary teaching lasts three years in the villages and five years elsewhere. In the first three classes only one branch is taught. It is called 'life knowledge' ('Hayat Bilgisi') and comprises, as may be easily guessed, the whole range of human knowledge, but only in their rudiments. Children are made acquainted with the objects that surround them and with the phenomena that strike their imagination. Specially they are taught to develop their power of expression by speaking, by writing, by drawing, and by moving.

In these schools the teaching is led and inspired by the outstanding actual events. The big headlines of the daily papers supply the themes. For instance, a few days ago Turkish public attention was dominated by the Sanjak question. By this opportunity, children were taught how Syria as an ancient Turkish province had the Sanjak under its sway. What is the importance of the Mediterranean Sea? Why is language a powerful factor in preserving the national feeling? What is a mandate? What is the League of Nations? What are treaties?

Every year between January 12 and 18 there is a "Buy Turkish week," also called the savings week. This week, when the weather is propitious, is dedicated to the inspection of the industrial equipment of the country. Children visit plants, factories, banks, and railway stations. This affords an opportunity for imparting to young minds a knowledge of economics. What does the Turkish soil produce? What is exported? What is imported? Why does deposited money bring interest? What are public loans?

GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

The grammar school ('orta okul') is the link between the primary school and the lycée. Before the Republican régime there were secondary schools, called 'Idadié,' comprising five or seven classes. They were institutions giving under the same roof grammar school and lycée education. Today the lycées are completely separated. The grammar school teaching lasts six years and is divided into two equal periods. The second period of three years belongs to the lycée curriculum.

Boys and girls in the grammar schools are taught history, geography, civic knowledge, mathematics, science, hygiene, foreign languages (as many hours as Turkish), drawing, music, laboratory work, military training (during these hours girls are busy with

housewifery) In the second period sociology and philosophy are added to these branches and the hours devoted to foreign languages are increased

THE LYCÉES

The lycées have taken in the new régime the place of the ancient 'idadiés' of the villayets (provinces). Their programme has been broadened and modernized and their standards raised. In order to make a better selection for the university, the school leaving examination has been dissociated from the matriculation examination. The number of alumni in 1936 (11,746) is ten times greater than ten years ago. New schools have been erected in many villayets. They have all been equipped with quadrangles, gymnasiums, laboratories, and libraries.

In spite of the increase in the scientific branches, the timetables are less overburdened than before, because Persian and Arabic, which occupied the third part of the curriculum, are no longer on the programmes. The loss, in this respect, if any, is not very great. The methods employed in teaching Arabic and Persian were antiquated and rested chiefly on learning by heart. Like all things hoarded in the memory without passing through the channels of comparison and discrimination, a very small part of the mass of the incoherent knowledge resisted the corrosive action of time. Among those Turks who graduated from the old 'idadiés' fifteen years or more ago one seldom meets a fortunate scholar who can read and understand an Arabic or Persian text.

THE UNIVERSITIES

At present there is only one university in Turkey that of Istanbul. It has five faculties: law, literature, economics, science, medicine. The university includes among its professors prominent people of European standing. Most of them are German professors, ousted by the Hitler régime. Lectures are given either in German or in French, and they are translated into Turkish by young Turkish professors mostly graduated from foreign universities. Some of the foreign professors have begun to lecture in Turkish. They have pledged themselves by a clause of their contract to lecture in Turkish at the end of four years. Some have been able to do so before the expiry of the term.

Ankara will in a few years be the seat of the second Turkish university. It has already a faculty of law, a faculty of languages, geography and history, and an agronomic institute with a veterinary branch. The school of political sciences which prepares for the civil service has lately been transferred to Ankara.

The creation of a faculty of medicine will be realized in the near future

In Istanbul and in Ankara the number of girl students is approximately the fourth of that of the boys. Only in the faculty of literature of Istanbul the number of girls is slightly superior (207 to 287). The Turkish girl frequents the university not only to train her mind and broaden her horizon, but also in order to secure a financial independence even when she belongs to a well-to-do class of society. There are no careers in Turkey from which women are debarred. They have not only invaded the clerical positions but are also judges, lawyers, physicians, agronomists, and State officials.

When one sees in Ankara and in the other big cities of Turkey girls hurrying in the morning to the Ministries and banks, and remembers that their sisters twenty years ago stagnated in idle expectation behind the high walls and latticed windows of their houses, one may well wonder how this magical metamorphosis has been possible. As Ankara, which was during the old régime a city of hardly 40,000 inhabitants, now shelters 130,000 people, the question of the completion of the university involves the problem of residential accommodation. Every time that the Ministry creates a new school in Ankara, it provides for a boarding institution for the students. Perhaps one day a sufficient number of hostels for students will be erected to enable them to separate the problem of education from that of lodging.

The universities have assumed a high task unknown in the past. They are now independent centres of scientific research. The Turks will no more look at their own histories through the eyes of foreign authors. They are getting equipped in order to plunge in the depths of their soil to exhume the vestiges left by the past, and they do not expect that archaeologists from other countries will come with spades and catalogue the buried treasures of their subsoil. They will gladly accept the help of others, but not with the indolent complacency of their predecessors.

PROFESSIONAL TEACHING

The plan of industrial equipment established and carried out by the Turkish Government could not fail to open new fields of activity to craftsmen of every category. That accounts for the favour which is enjoyed by the numerous schools of arts and crafts which supply practical and modern training.

The exhibition of domestic arts and crafts," opened three months ago in Ankara, showed a revival of the ancient Turkish deftness and skill.

Apart from the schools which train the officers for the army and

navy the following are the principal technical schools that can compare with competitive foreign institutions. The Normal High School, the Pedagogic Institute, the High Agronomical Institute, the High School of Engineers, the School of Fine Arts, and the Conservatoire.

In technical training the girls have the biggest share. The Institute of Ismet Inonu of Ankara was created to supply the new requirements of the emancipated Turkish woman.

The Turkish lady is no more wrapped in a uniform dark "charshaf." The "charshaf" itself was not exempt from the caprices of the almighty Goddess Fashion, but it was less exposed to arbitrary change.

Now the models of London and Paris are anxiously scrutinized in Ankara and the other big cities, and its dictation is followed with reverential obedience.

ARE THERE ANY FOREIGN INFLUENCES?

It would be misleading to imagine that in the huge work of transformation the present statesmen of Turkey have copied this or that country. The edifice of education in Turkey is a composite one. One traces in it American, French, German, and other influences. Perhaps it would not be erroneous to perceive the features of the kindergarten in the Turkish primary schools, or the principles of the technical American schools in our professional teaching, or the structure of the French lycées in our lycées.

The Turkish statesmen did not hesitate to follow the paths of others when those paths were held to be the right ones, and have always kept in mind that the foreign systems were to be applied to the Turkish boy, who has different idiosyncrasies, brains, and hereditary instincts, and have, therefore, made the required adjustments.

No State and entity nowadays attempts to reform an institution or to create a new one without previous documentation of what is being done on the same lines in other countries. On the other side, among the young Turks filling now the offices of the Ministries and who have studied in France, America, England, Germany, and other countries, many have climbed the summits and have brought each a stone to the new edifice. No wonder that the architecture that has resulted is such a composite one.

PROBLEMS AND HINDRANCES

The lycées have reached standards far above those of the ancient *idadié*, but new Turkey wants them to be what they are in the best European countries. All efforts converge towards this ob-

jective. The level of a graduate of a lycée determines the standard of the university student, and graduates of the universities now fill all the Ministries. Therefore, experience is gained until the properly co-ordinated curriculum suitable to the needs is found. The knowledge of foreign languages is a problem far more momentous and urgent in Turkey than anywhere else. We have to complete our national library. Many masterpieces of literature have not yet been translated into Turkish. This task remains for the rising generation.

The high standard reached by the University of Istanbul must be placed to the credit of the constructive policy of the Turkish statesmen. Neither the quantity nor the quality of the teaching is below the European universities. If improvement is needed, it is not on the teaching but on the learning side. That explains the active policy of the Government to raise the standard of the lycées. After the completion of the University of Ankara the Government will have to choose the seat of the third university.

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE

The purification of the Turkish language has raised another problem. As the Turkish schools do not teach any longer Persian and Arabic grammar and syntax, many Persian and Arabic words have become obsolescent in the course of the last ten years. They are not used in the official language and are banished from the language of the newspapers. The pupils who now throng the schools are not able to read the works of early Turkish literature. Nefi, Nâbi, Fuzulî, Nedim, and many others are for them mere puzzles. Nobody thinks of suppressing altogether from the school programme the ancient literature. The literary works are the mirror of the past centuries and are an essential part of national history.

On the other hand, the ancient works of literature could not be expurgated in order to make them intelligible to the new generation. The expurgation would be so extensive that nothing or very little would remain of the originals. This is one of the present issues that are being discussed in educational circles in Turkey.

VILLAGE SCHOOLS

In Turkey the villages are scattered in wide areas and have a very scanty population. The long distances prevent villages from being merged. Geographical hindrances will perhaps be overcome in a few cases. But this will not alter the general aspect of the problem. The building of forty thousand schools and the recruiting of sufficient teachers is mainly a question of State

funds. The appropriation for public education has been *increased every year since the proclamation of the Republic*. But the needs are too vast to receive satisfaction through the normal resources of the budget. The Government will perhaps in the near future, when the plan of industrialization nears completion, establish a quinquennial plan for the educational equipment of the country.

CONCLUSION

The education in Turkey rests essentially on democratic and civic foundations. From the lowest class of the primary school to the highest class of the university there is no such thing as social distinctions. Education is gratuitous in all its stages. For the boarders, too, the rule is no fees. When pupils pay, the tuition is very low and measured according to the economic circumstances of the town where the school is situated.

The school prepares not only men who have to conquer a place under the sun, but citizens conscious of their duties to the nation. Pupils are taught to love the regime which has led Turkey to independence, dignity, and responsibility. The enthusiasm is not suffered to tarnish. The flame is carefully fed. I do not think there is exaggeration in the movement. The boys and girls know not only what has been achieved, but also that which remains to be done. They are told that the biggest part of the task depends on them. There is no self-complacency but constant goading. They are not told to believe that Turkey is a paradise. They are told that it behoves them to make their country an Elysium. Nobody conceals the fact that the path is full of thorns. But the results acquired in the last fifteen years are highly stimulating. *The groping period will soon be over. Turkey has displayed unsuspected talents of organization.* The new generation which inherits the experience of their elders who have done the arduous pioneer work will pass with a steadier pace to higher goals.

THE CHINESE RAILWAYS TODAY*

BY GEORGES MASPERO

(Formerly Resident-Supérieur of the Civil Service in Indo-China
Member of the Academy of Colonial Sciences)

THE imposition of the Conventions of Peking, in October, 1860, upon the Chinese Imperial Government by France and England, and the signature at Peking and Tientsin of the various treaties similar to them which the Western Powers secured between 1860 and 1864, gave Europeans the illusion that henceforth they could indulge, according to their own inclinations, in the exploitation of the riches of China in the service of their particular interests. The Chinese, on the other hand, had for the most part definitely decided never to submit to obligations which they had only agreed to under the constraint of military force and their intention, therefore, was, by trickery and inaction, to bring them to nought.

The story of the building of the first railway on Chinese territory affords remarkable evidence both of the mistake which the Westerners made and of the rooted intention of the Imperial Government to free itself at all costs of the intrusion of the foreign barbarians. Twenty-seven European merchants of Shanghai asked permission, in 1863, to build a railway between Shanghai and Soochow, an important place about sixty kilometres† to the west of the great Chinese port, and Li Hung Chang, who was then Imperial Commissioner and Governor of the province of Kiangsow, declined to place their request before the throne. The reason which he gave was that he did not consider that a railway would be profitable to China except in so far as it was built by the Chinese themselves. If it were constructed by strangers it would merely have the effect of increasing their influence, which the Imperial Government was anxious at all costs to avoid.

Two years later a new request was made. This time it was a question of a tramway on the road, about seventeen kilometres long, to connect Shanghai with Woosung, a small town situated on the Yangtze (Blue River), opposite which anchored the large

* Communicated to the Comité d'Études des Problèmes du Pacifique on December 17 1936.

The most recent documents which I have been able to consult in drawing up this article are those which Mr. Lawrence Chen, Research Fellow of the Council of International Affairs published in the *Information Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 3 June 1 1936, under the title *Chinese National Railways and Reconstruction*.

† 8 kilometres = 5 miles.

steamers which were not able to pass up the Wangpo to Shanghai itself. Though consent was given, the construction of the tram way, begun in 1865 and stopped in the following year, was only resumed in January, 1876. Put into part use over a distance of nine kilometres on June 30 following, and used over the whole distance in December of the same year, the line was bought in October, 1877, by the Chinese, who immediately stopped all traffic on it and finally demolished it. The Europeans did not insist.

The defeat of the Chinese armies by the Japanese forces at the end of 1894 and the signature of the Treaty of Shimonoseki on April 17, 1895, revealed to the astounded nations of the West the weakness of an Empire which they had thought invulnerable. Judging it to be powerless to offer resistance to their demands, they made no further attempt to conceal their ambitions, which henceforth took an urgent form. Between 1895 and 1911 they exacted from the Imperial Government a whole series of concessions for railway contracts. The result was the building, without any collective plan, of a certain number of main lines, which were constructed not so much for the normal exploitation of the economic wealth of China as with the actual object of serving the interests of certain individuals and the political ambitions of the Powers which secured the contracts.

During this period five thousand kilometres of lines were laid, the work being paid for by means of loans which the Imperial Government found itself compelled to accept and to guarantee on the security of the revenue from customs and excise, and thus without being able to take into account the economic requirements of the country nor to have any say in the financial burdens imposed upon it. These lines are Trans-Manchurian from Manchuli to the port of Vladivostok, afterwards extended to Peking (Peiping), Peiping—Hankow, Tientsin—Powchow, Peiping—Kalgan (Tchang kia), Taichow—Tsingha, called the Tao-tsing line, Chengting—Taiyuan, called the Tcheng t'ai line, Nanking—Shanghai, Shanghai—Hangchow, Kiaochow—Tsinan, called the Kiao-tsi line, Kaifen—Loyang (Honanfu), called the Long-hai line, Canton—Hankow, first section, Canton—Kiolong.

The Chinese revolution (1911), with the internal disorders involved by it, the World War (1914), with the abrupt cessation of all activities on the part of the Western Powers in China, caused for some time a suspension of the building of railways.

It was only in 1922 that work was resumed. Nearly two thousand kilometres of new lines were laid during the subsequent years.

Canton—Chaochow, Wuchang—Changsha, Taiping—Ling hong ho, Taiping—Ling pao, Kalgan (Tchang-kia)—Fengchen

The Western Powers, however, were not wise enough to profit by the situation. Instead of joining forces in a common effort, they injured one another by their actions in rivalry, and China once more exhibited her skill in profiting from this state of affairs. She succeeded in raising loans on unexpectedly favourable terms and at the cost of guarantees of no great value. Payments of interest were gradually suspended through lack of the necessary resources and of foreign credits, the construction of new railway lines was entirely held up. Disorders in the country, the lack of a strong government, the failure of budgetary resources, resulted in the gradual abandonment of the upkeep of the existing lines. This had reached such a pitch that by 1927 the railway lines of China were in a deplorable condition, the rolling-stock in bad condition, and financial assistance and the possibility of raising it had ceased to exist.

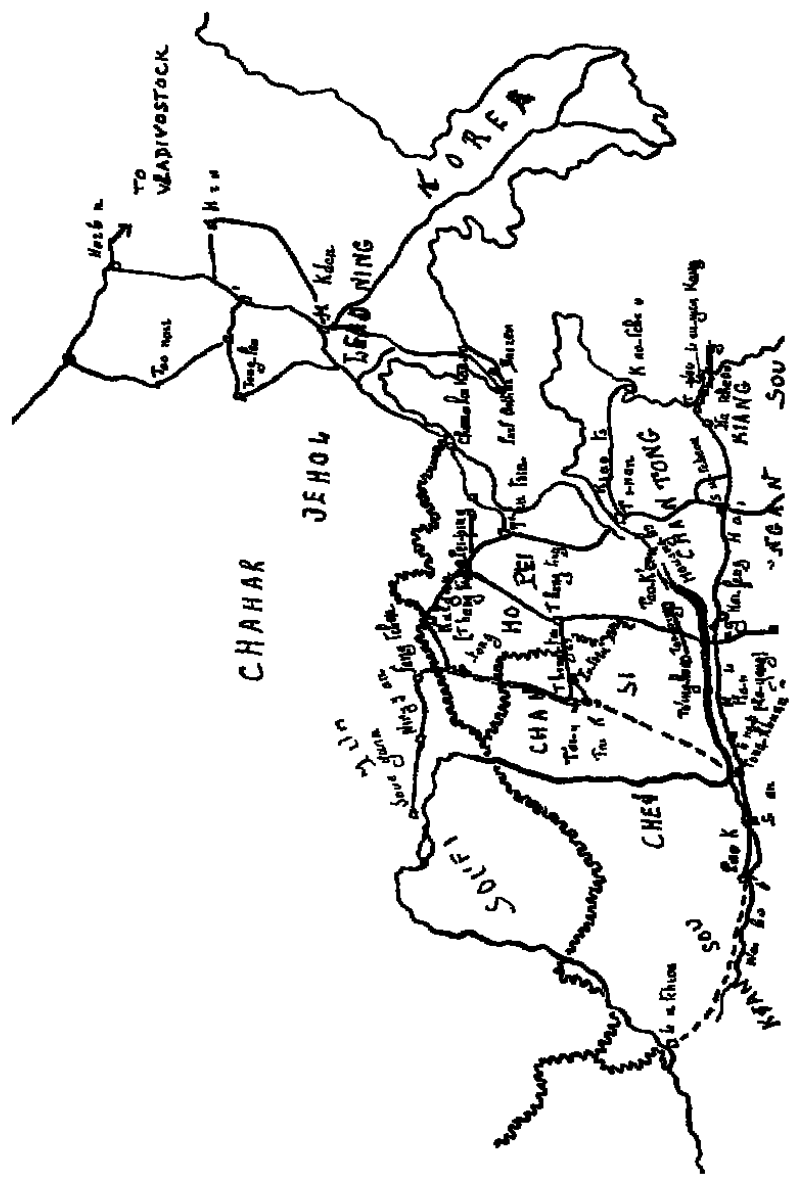
In less than ten years the National Government of the Chinese Republic has succeeded, at the cost of wonderful efforts and discipline, in reversing completely the condition of affairs, at present China may justly pride herself on a railway system already extensive, and look forward to the promise of a future worthy in every respect of the economic wealth of the country.

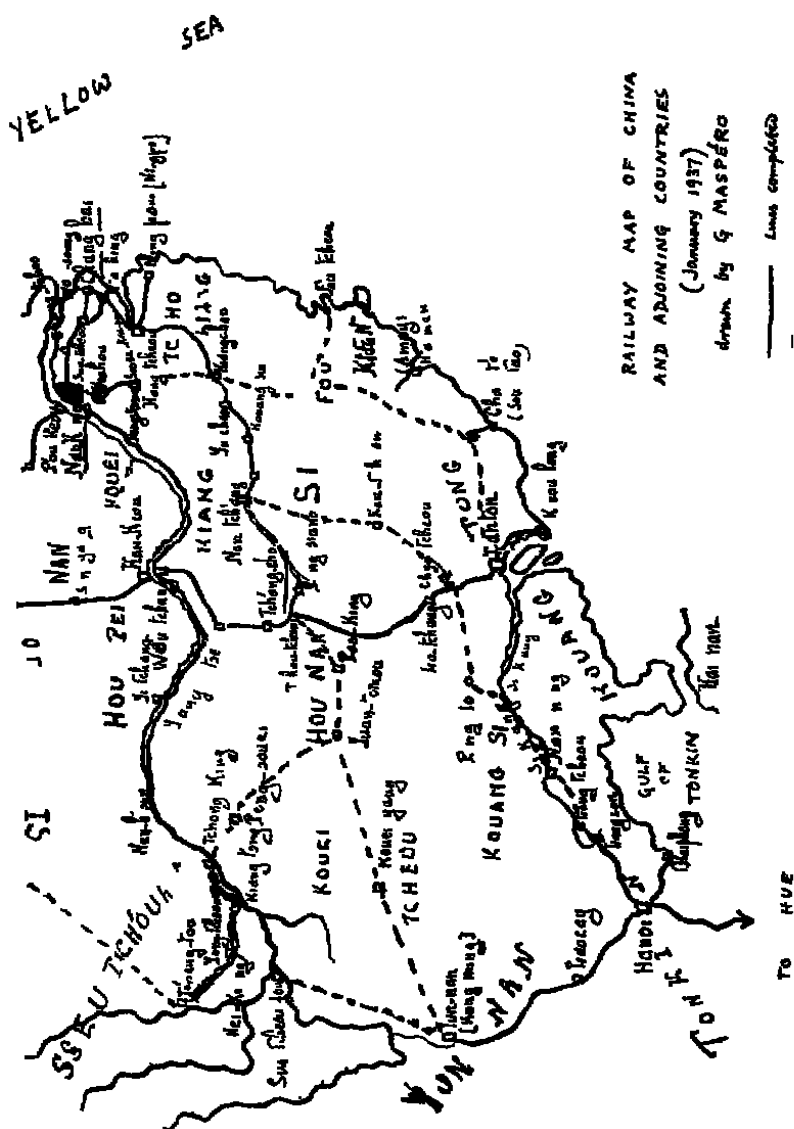
Established at Nanking on April 18, 1927, the National Government formed in 1928 the Ministry for Railways, to this Ministry was allotted, as its first task, not only the completion of existing lines and the elaboration of a scheme for new lines intended to form, with the old, a national co-ordinated system, but the establishment of a standard form of contract for collaboration with the foreign Powers. This form of contract, while safeguarding the political and economic interests of China, would ensure to these Powers and their dependents a profit which should be legitimate but which should possess no political significance.

In spite of all the difficulties which the National Government of the Chinese Republic has had to face, the trade deficit consequent upon the stoppage of exports as the result of the world crisis, the occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese which has robbed it, since 1931, of the revenue which it secured from this province under the heading of Customs and Excise, the Hoang Ho (Yellow River) floods in the same year (1931) which involved heavy expenditure for assistance and works of repair, the Ministry for Railways has had considerable success in the task assigned to it.

It has, to begin with, pushed on actively with the completion of the main lines primarily required.

The putting into service in October, 1933, of a tram ferry on the Yangtze (Blue River) between Powchow and Nanking has secured direct traffic between Tientsin and Shanghai. This ferry,





of 1,200 ton power, is capable of transporting on each trip from one bank to the other a load of twenty-one 40-ton goods trucks or a passenger train of twelve coaches of the largest size and of a similar weight. The cost amounted to 3,800,000 Chinese dollars taken from the British Boxer indemnity fund and repayable in four instalments from the net profit of the transporting service.

The extension of the line called the Long-hai has been actively pursued. To the east, the line, lengthened by 30 kilometres from Ta p'ou, opened to traffic in the first half of 1935, now reaches the port of Lien-yun Kang, which thus becomes the terminus of the Long hai on the Yellow Sea, to the north of Kiangsu. Towards the west, the line was first extended from Ling pao to Tong kouan, a distance of 70 kilometres put into service in August, 1932, then from Tong-kouan to Sian, 132 kilometres, inaugurated in December, 1934, then over 180 kilometres to Paoki, this section having recently been put into use. The whole work has cost the sum of about 40,000,000 Chinese dollars which includes the cost of supplying the port of Lien-yun Kang with water.

The line called the Tchong t'ai, which runs from Chengting in the Hupeh province on the Peking (Peiping)—Hankow line to T'ai yuan in the Chansi province has been connected, by a one-metre line from Yu-tseu station, to T'ai-ku, 35 kilometres off in an E.S.E. direction.

The Wuchang—Canton line, a prolongation of the Peiping—Hankow line, has been constructed, in its northern section, from Wuchang, on the south bank of the Yangtze facing Hankow, to Tchou tcheou 35 kilometres to the south of Changsha over 417 kilometres, and, in its southern sector, from Canton to Lo-tch ang, reached by the first locomotive in August, 1933, over a distance of 274 kilometres. The central section between Tchou tcheou to the north and Lo-tch ang to the south, 406 kilometres of railroad, was finished in May, 1936, in order, however, to allow of a proper settlement of the permanent way, traffic was not to be allowed on it until the end of 1936. The cost was about 62,000,000 Chinese dollars.

To the south, the line called the Chekiang—Kiang-si, which runs over 336 kilometres from Hangchow through Kiang-chan in the Chekiang and Yu-chan to the Kiang-si, was opened to traffic at the end of 1933. Constructed at their joint expense by the province of Chekiang and the Ministry for Railways, it cost 13,000,000 Chinese dollars, including a 24 kilometre branch line from the station of Lang-ki to Kin-hoa. Its extension to Nan chang, capital of Kiangsi, was officially inaugurated on January 15, 1936. The construction of these 300 kilometres was carried out by the Chekiang Kiangsi Railway Company with a capital of

16,000,000 Chinese dollars, contributed jointly by the provincial governments of Chekiang and of Kiangsi and by the Central Government. A permit to exploit had been granted to it by the Government. Finally, the sector Nanchang Ping-siang, 300 kilometres in length, is now under construction and will be put into service in 1938. The cost is borne by a chartered company formed under the auspices of the provincial authorities of Chekiang and Kiangsi and of the Minister of Railways, it has a capital of 60,000,000 Chinese dollars, of which 24,000,000 were obtained through public loans issued, in equal parts, by the Ministry for Railways and the provincial government of Kiangsi. Thus the line Hanchow—Kiangchan—Yu-chan—Nanchang will connect, near Ping-siang, the centre of an important coal mining district, with the line Peiping—Hangkow—Wuchang—Canton to Tchou tcheou, situated 35 kilometres to the south of Changsha. The provincial government of Kiangsi proposes to construct another narrow gauge line from Nanchang to Kan tcheou, which may eventually be taken to Chaochow on the Wuchang—Canton line.

The construction has also been begun of a line to connect Nanking with Canton across the eastern and central provinces of China—Kiangsu, Anhwei, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Fukien, and Kwantung—serving by branch lines the ports of Foochow, Amoy (Hia men), and Chan t'eu (Soua tao). The first sector from Nanking to Souen-kia pou by Wou-hou, 170 kilometres in length, was opened to traffic on April 1, 1936. At Nanking itself a 16-kilometre connecting line joins the terminus of this line to the terminus of the Nanking—Shanghai line.

The increase of traffic on the Shanghai—Hangchow—Ningpo line and the opening of the Chekiang—Kiangsi line have necessitated the construction of a bridge over the Tsien tang River, the amount required for its construction have been jointly subscribed by means of a 5,000,000 Chinese dollar loan from the 'China Development Finance Corporation' and the 'Chinese British Corporation'. It is to be about 1,400 metres long with two platforms one above the other, one exclusively reserved for railway traffic, the other consisting of a 6-metre road for vehicles, and on each side of the road a 1.50 metre footpath, it should be completed towards the end of 1937.

A glance at the map of China will show that the railway system of the Republic, as it exists today, still fails to cover, to the west of the main line Peiping—Hangkow—Wuchang—Changsha—Canton, the greater part of the provinces of Hupeh and Honan and the whole of the far-eastern provinces of Kangsu, Szechwan, Kweichow, and Kwangsi. One only among them, the province of Yunnan on the border of Tonkin, has a railway for the export of its products, and this is merely a prolongation of the railway

system of French Indo-China. From Saigon, the port and capital of French Cochinchina, this line follows the coast of Annam, passes through Hanoi, the capital of Tonkin, and enters the territory of the Chinese Republic to the north of Lao Kay and ends at Kong-ming (Yunnanfu), capital of the province of Yunnan.

But these provinces, from the Chinese economic point of view, are of the first importance. Kansu is the caravan route, by this route, through Lanchow, Kanchow, and Yumen, the 'Gateway of Jade', by Kou-tcheng and Ouroumtchi, capital of Sinkiang, trading is still carried on by means of slow pacing camels, between the eastern Yellow River provinces and the Asia of the Mussulman. The Long hai line actually stops at Pao-ki, about 50 kilometres from the eastern border of Kansu. The Minister for Railways has naturally put the extension of this line on his list of urgent works. Prospecting for it has hardly yet begun. It would appear, however, that the conclusion has already been reached to abandon the line of country originally proposed, which was through P'ing leang and Tsing ning by the valley of the River Woei.

In the south, Kweichow is still more cut off from the rest of China owing to difficulties of access presented by the mountain ranges which cover it and by the absence of any navigable river allowing it to be entered.

But, from the point of view of general economic interest, it is the province of Szechwan which should first be opened up. At present its only means of communication with the coast is by the Yangtze, a river difficult for transport and 2,600 kilometres have to be covered to reach the sea. It is still more difficult to return up it because of transshipments required in the middle of the river's course, the rapids and sandbanks in the upper reaches. Navigation is difficult enough when the river is high, it is a still more painful process during the dry season. And yet, while in 1934, according to the statistics of the Customs authorities, 740,872 tons of goods were brought down to Wan hien, 392,694 tons were conveyed up to Tchong king. What a terrific task it must have been. In the Yi tch ang sector twenty four vessels, in the course of one year, 1934, were severely damaged as the result of running on to banks of sand or against rocks in the rapids. The figure for imports from and exports to Szechwan amounts at present to as much as 100,000,000 Chinese dollars, the figure for imports generally exceeding the export figure by about 1,000,000.

The plan of campaign drawn up by the Ministry for Railways has as chief object the removal of the isolation of these western provinces and to bring them into the general economic exchange system of China.

A line from Changsha, which thus becomes the great centre of

the Chinese railway system, will go through Pao-king to Yuan-chow. In this neighbourhood it will split into two main routes. The first, running in a north-westerly direction, will cross Peng-chouei, reach the Yangtze, which it will cross at Tchong-king, go up the river towards Yong-tchouan and Kiangtsing, and then make towards Tchéng-tou, passing Nei-kiang. The second, running south-west, will reach Kouei-yang, which it will cross, and then continue to Kong-ming, capital of the province of Yunnan.

From Tchéng-tou, capital of Szechwan, a railway will rejoin the line from Long-hai to Pao-ki. And from Nei-kiang, on the line Tchéng-tou—Tchéng-king, a branch line running south will cross Tseu-lieou-tsing, an important salt mining centre, and, by Souai-tcheou, will rejoin Kong-ming in the province of Yunnan, where it will connect both the Chinese Kouei-yang—Yuan-tcheou—Changsha line with the French Indo-China railway system (Trans-indochinois Yunnanfu Hanoi Hué Saigon).

Finally, Kwangsi will be served by a railway which, starting probably from Chaochow, on the Canton—Hankow line, will run to Nanning, the capital of the province, and connect at Long-tcheou with the Indo-China railway system on the line Lang-són to Hanoi.

Thus Szechwan will be in communication by Pao-ki with the Hoang-ho railway (Long-hai line), by Yuan-chow with the Blue River and south-east China system, by Tseu-lieou-tsing and Kong-ming with the French Indo-China railways which will put it in direct communication with the ports of the Gulf of Tonkin and of the China Sea.

The execution of this enormous scheme, remarkably conceived for ensuring both a reasonable economic exploitation of China and the connection of its national railway system with that of the railways of the world, will commence with the construction of the line Tchong-king—Nei-kiang—Tchéng-tou, about 600 kilometres in length. The funds required for the purpose, about 45,000,000 Chinese dollars, will be raised under a scheme of Franco-Chinese collaboration, the details of which have been drawn up in a contract signed at the end of 1936. French capital, through a loan repayable in fifteen annual instalments, will supply 8,000,000 Chinese dollars in cash and 27,000,000 Chinese dollars in railway material, the balance—namely, 10,000,000 Chinese dollars—being found by the "China Development Finance Corporation".

The Minister for Railways, who has thus fulfilled the third task which, on the foundation of the Ministry in 1928, was allotted to him, has carefully drawn up the conditions of this collaboration, the success of which he has guaranteed, in the spirit of the instructions given by the founder of the Chinese National

Republic Sun Yat Sen was, in fact, fully aware of the magnitude of the effort imposed upon China by an equipment on modern lines which was indispensable for her social and economic development and of the impossibility of her being able to do this with her own resources only. In his view foreign collaboration in China would remain an unavoidable necessity. "Europe and America," he wrote, "are a century ahead of us in the way of industrial development. In order, therefore, to overtake them we must secure the help of their capital and above all of their machinery. If we cannot obtain capital from them, we should at least invite their experts and inventors to come to us, and thus, with their assistance, secure the industrial equipment which we lack. This desire to attract foreign collaboration by guaranteeing a fair profit but to keep it strictly to the limits of industrial and financial activities without it being able to intervene in the sphere of politics, also inspired the Ministry of Railways when the new railway statutes for China were drawn up. Their object may be summarized thus: to give complete security to capital borrowed to assist in the completion of the railway system of the Chinese Republic while at the same time keeping these activities within national bounds.

To guarantee the security of the capital invested, the Ministry has been careful, remembering the saying "exploitation should pay for construction," to include in its plan of campaign only those lines of action which, while meeting as closely as possible the normal requirements of the exploitation and economic development of the country, would enable a productive and rapid return to be anticipated with practical certainty. Further, the Ministry being anxious to retain political and social control of the work, has decided to act itself as manager of the enterprise and itself to exploit the newly constructed lines. By exercising its own control it claims that it can ensure not only the most economical utilization of the capital borrowed, but also the promptest possible repayment under the most advantageous conditions. It is the Ministry which sets to work capital supplied by foreign collaboration and from national sources, the Ministry which controls repayment from the receipts from exploitation, the Ministry which, on its own responsibility, guarantees success.

To facilitate the task it has established, to work with it, a Commission for the Construction of New Railroads with four departments, Secretariat, Technical Service, Financial Department, Staff Department, each with its own responsibilities. Finally, under the title of 'Reconstruction Loan,' the National Government of the Chinese Republic has voted it an "Internal Loan" of 120,000,000 Chinese dollars, the first part of which, 40,000,000, has been issued. Ten million dollars have been

allotted for the construction of the line Tchéng-tou—Tchéng king to Szechwan

Such, in the sphere of railway construction, has been the work of the National Government of the Chinese Republic since its establishment at Nanking. The democratic States cannot do less than offer their congratulations, especially France, which has been enabled to observe the establishment of a still closer economic relationship between the two nations.

A COMPARISON IN COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT TRADE IN AUSTRALIAN AND DUTCH NEW GUINEA*

BY DR W C KLEIN

(Secretary of the New Guinea Committee)

MUCH in this article is based on verbal information, which was very liberally supplied to me by my Australian friends during the trip to Australian New Guinea and Papua in 1935. I feel that I cannot mention all their names, but I should quote here at least the Hon Mac Nicoll and Sir Hubert Murray, the Governors of the Australian territories, as also Dr Haga, the Governor (Resident) of the Moluccas.

In the present article exports will be discussed first in the following order: Forest products, timber, plantation products, including rubber, animal products, mineral products. Then I shall discuss the imports—viz. Foodstuffs and luxuries, textiles, tools, iron ware, machinery, oils. Finally, the total volume of trade and the export surplus will be considered. It should be borne in mind that this survey deals with conditions during the world depression. The present increase in trade and the effects of the depreciation of the Dutch guilder in September, 1936, are not discussed.

The printed sources for the information required to obtain a good review of the trade of Dutch and Australian New Guinea are more scanty as regards Dutch New Guinea than they are for the Australian side.

We dispose of very good statistics for the Macassar trade, but no figures are published as to the portions of the Macassar trade that relate to Dutch New Guinea. Fortunately the K P M Company (Royal Packet Navigation Co.) and various authorities were very obliging in supplying me with much of the data desired. In comparing the figures for Australian and Dutch New Guinea one is hampered by the various phases in the devaluation of the pound and recently of the Dutch guilder.

The literature consulted is given in a separate list in the original Dutch article, and this list will, of course, be accessible to the English reader also.

In publishing this and similar articles the Netherlands New Guinea Committee, which sent the author to New Guinea, intends

* Based on material that will appear *in extenso* in the handbook in three volumes, entitled *New Guinea*, edited in Dutch under the supervision of the writer by the Moluccan Institute—a branch of the Royal Colonial Institute at Amsterdam. Volume 2 will appear next August (publisher: De Bussy Rokin 60, Amsterdam). A very brief résumé was published in the *Pacific Islands Monthly* in Sydney (February 24, 1937).

to promote an exchange of experiences between Australia and the Netherlands East Indies. The Committee intends to carry out this exchange on a much larger scale by having translations made of the reports about the developments in Dutch New Guinea and by having these published either in Australia or in a special English periodical, which the Committee will perhaps establish later, if funds permit.

EXPORTS

Forest Products and Timber

Here we see marked differences between the two portions of the big island. The Dutch half has a much bigger volume of trade for gum copal, timber, bark, rattan, nutmeg and mace. The values of the exports were in 1935 in Dutch New Guinea, as compared to those for July, 1934, to July, 1935 (briefly to be taken as 1934), in Australian New Guinea:

Gum copal and other gums		
Dutch New Guinea	1,636	tons
Australian New Guinea	49	"
Timber		
Dutch New Guinea	445	
Australian New Guinea	138	"
Bark (including massoi)		
Dutch New Guinea	68	
Australian New Guinea (Papua only)	60	5
Rattan		
Dutch New Guinea	2	4
Australian New Guinea	0	"
Nutmeg and mace		
Dutch New Guinea	574	1
Australian New Guinea	0	"

As a rule Papua's bark export was nil, but in 1934 mangrove bark was exported to Australia, mainly from Samarai. Ivory nuts are the only item under the above heading in which Australian New Guinea ranks first, but this is only so because the Solomon Islands belong to the Territory of New Guinea from an administrative point of view.

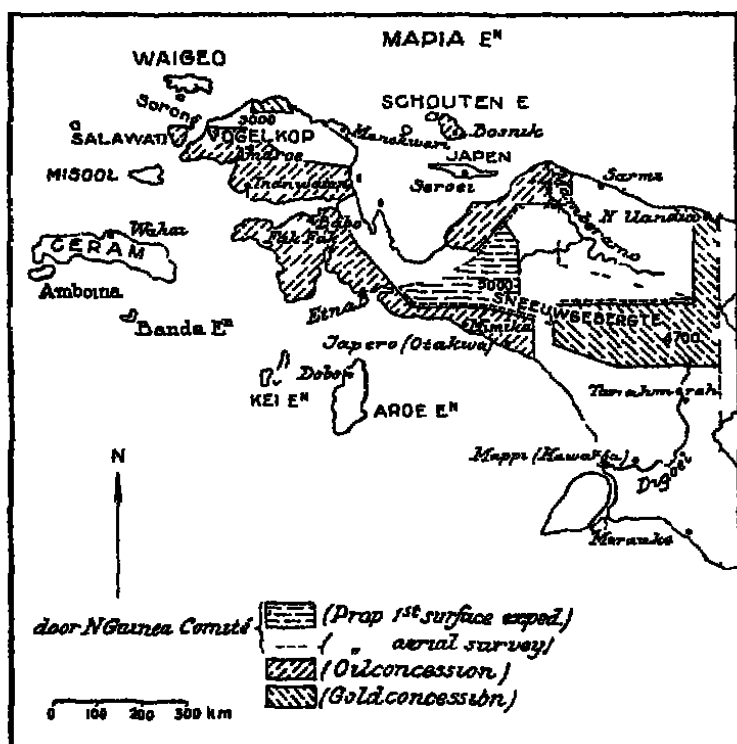
Ivory nuts		
Dutch New Guinea 1935	0	tons
Australian New Guinea, 1934	24	, £186

None of the Dutch or Australian territories export mangrove products like tannin, grass products like paper pulp or sago, but in Papua, I understand, the manufacture of paper pulp will soon start, though not from timber, but from grass (alang-alang or kurukuru).

The total volume of exports of timber and forest products is

for Dutch New Guinea, 1935, 2,725 5 tons, and for Australian New Guinea, 1934, about 350 tons

As to gums, bark and rattans I see the main reason for the difference in the fact that the Chinese trader in Dutch New Guinea knows how to induce the native to bring these articles to his trading stations—for instance, by advancing import trade goods to him, and by keeping him in constant debt. Many people think that the small profits which these products yield are more attractive to a Chinese than to the European traders, but this is not



correct, as copal commands a price per ton which is more than double of that of copra, and bark is much more valuable still. Only rattan and timber have a value per ton which is a little smaller than that of copra. The European traders control the entire trade in Papua (where there are practically no Asiatics), and the bulk of it in the Territory of New Guinea, where there remain many Chinese from the German period, who are, however, being restricted as to their places of residence and their trade. Rattan and bark are doubtless exportable in Australian New Guinea in

big quantities, if we take also the China market into account, which consumes inferior rattan varieties, and if we consider the good shipping communication with China that is available on the Australian side.

As to gum copal and other gums, also in the case of nutmeg, Nature has favoured the Dutch side. Good gum copal rarely occurs in Australian New Guinea, and I know only of trees along the uppermost parts of the Sepik river, located by the Dutch German boundary expedition in 1910.

As to timber, the situation is very puzzling to me, as both Australian territories imported in 1934 (i.e., July, 1934, to July, 1935) for as many thousands of pounds as they exported in hundreds of pounds.

The 10 per cent. import duty apparently cannot prevent this. As Dutch New Guinea shows only timber exports and even rather big ones, the idea occurred to me when visiting the Australian territories in 1935 that the Dutch side could sell its timber to the Australian side, because the latter now gets it from Australia and the Philippines (mine timber for Papua even comes from Oregon, U.S.A.). As the timber sawn in the mission mills of Finschhafen and Sek is about the same as the Dutch timber (*Intsia* = *Afzelia* = ironwood) one might even suggest that this latter timber could replace the imports. It is also remarkable that the sum of freights and import duty in Australia is higher for Papuan than for American timber. In this and other matters I should be glad of additional information from my Australian friends, whom I did not question in 1935 about many points that only occurred to me after having worked out the collected data.

Plantation Products, including Rubber

These export products, on the contrary, show a marked superiority in quantity and value on the Australian side. Copra is of prime importance in both territories of the Australian part, and if we except the Papuan rubber, both halves of the big island practically have 'put all their eggs in one basket' and do not export anything else.

Kapoc and Cotton

These are practically not exported from either of the New Guineas, whereas cocoa shows a steady but always small export figure on the Australian side. It is curious that in the Territory of New Guinea the attractive cocoa export premium (bounty) of £14 a ton, the valuable scientific advice of the Government (studies by the New Guinea Department of Agriculture, e.g., those published by Mr. Green) and the volcanic and other good soils available have not been able to lead to an increase of the cocoa exports.

In the German times (Vitu Island) they amounted already to 135 tons (1913), and this figure has rarely been surpassed since and never after the year 1921 (152 tons). As far as I can see it as a layman the native labour (Kanakas are less intelligent than Accra negroes) is largely responsible, and the latter also accounts for the fact that the few cocoa experiments on the Dutch side were unsuccessful. Australia imports against roughly 100 tons from New Guinea each year more than 5,000 tons from Accra and the West Indies. It is stated that the planting of cocoa during the copra slump of 1932-1934 will result in an increase of the exports of Australian New Guinea to a maximum of 500 tons of cocoa, thus the bulk of the Australian consumption will also in future be derived from other sources.

Rubber is doing well in Papua, and though it is the only commodity that private enterprise would at present like to start on the Dutch side, the international rubber restriction prevents us from doing so. Looking at the absence of restriction in Papua one wonders why the exports did not increase more quickly, and then the lack of a good road leading to the best rubber district (Sogeri) seems the explanation.

Papua exported more than 100 tons a year since 1917, in 1924 it passed the 500 ton mark, and in 1934 the 1,000 ton mark. For this slow increase there may be other explanations beside the above that occurred to the writer, who paid only a short visit to Australian New Guinea, and he is anxious to have additional information for this as well as for every other item mentioned in this article.

Copra

Copra is the main export product, and here we have the following figures:

Copra exports

Dutch New Guinea 1935	4 586 tons
Independent Territory of New Guinea (T N G) 1934-1935	56,251
Independent Territory of Papua (T P), 1934 1935	8 570

On the Dutch side a relatively small part comes from European managed plantations (Wakde plantation near Sarmi, another near Hollandia, some on Misool Island and other adjacent islands, and finally the small plantation of the R C mission near Merauke), and the remainder is trade copra, on the Australian side the trade copra (native copra) forms the smaller part, in fact, it forms only 3 to 4 per cent of the bulk of the copra export.

The Dutch Australian comparison as to copra indicated by the above figures is not fair, as the bulk of the Territory of New Guinea copra comes from New Britain and New Ireland, whereas islands of similar size near the Dutch New Guinea coast, like Geram and

Halmahera, are not included in the Dutch figures, as they do not belong to it officially. If we compare only the Dutch and Australian mainland we have for 1933

Mainland copra	
Dutch New Guinea	2,350 tons
Australian New Guinea	21,000

We see that in any case our Australian neighbours are far ahead of us. Doubtless this is due to at least three circumstances

- 1 The more reliable labour supply (indentured)
- 2 The better shipping facilities, except during the period that the Navigation Act was being applied to Australian New Guinea (1921-1926).
- 3 The close proximity of Australia as a non tropical territory consuming tropical produce

In the Dutch territory the native will work no longer than 2 or 3 months average and then leave. Also there is no recruiting of labour in the interior on behalf of the plantations on the coast, which also limits the number of labourers available.

Native copra is being withdrawn from the sales to a greater or smaller extent after each copra slump, at least in Australian New Guinea. In 1920 and 1921 this reaction was very conspicuous in Papua, where the exports of native copra practically dropped to nil, after the fall in price of nearly 50 per cent in the period 1919-1920. In the Territory of New Guinea the same observation was made (see Annual Reports of both territories).

In Dutch New Guinea and the Moluccas, though the bulk of the export is trade copra, the fall in price influenced the exports of this copra very much less, in fact, the exports from Dutch New Guinea in 1934, the worst year, were equal to those in 1931. The reason is largely that the administration more or less forces the natives to sell their copra to enable them to pay their taxes, which were only slightly lowered during the slump. They have in many areas no other means at their disposal to earn their head tax, as there are very few regular plantations. The Macassar exports, far from showing the influence of the great slump, increased between 1931 and 1934 by about 100 per cent. Nevertheless they consist nearly exclusively of native copra.

The system of marketing the copra is quite different in the two territories, we have successively for our native copra (1) the Chinese trader on the New Guinea coast, (2) the Chinese firm in Macassar, (3) the European firm in Macassar. The two big firms of the Territory of Papua and the Territory of New Guinea, Burns Philp and Co., Ltd., and Carpenter and Co., Ltd., can be compared to (3) if we take Rabaul as the equivalent of Macassar, (2) is always lacking, whereas, in the case of trade copra, (1) is present

is represented mostly by the European trader or the European planter, who had until 1936, at least in New Guinea, the exclusive right to buy the copra of the native groves adjoining his plantation. The native is paid on both sides in kind, as also the merchant on the coast. In both countries we have merchants travelling around on coastal steamers with a kind of floating shop.

On the Dutch side there is no copra inspection like in the Territory of New Guinea.

The bulk of the Dutch copra is exported to Europe, the United States fell out in the Macassar exports in 1934 in connection with the processing taxes introduced there, in Australian New Guinea the United States fell out about 1930, doubtless as a result of the law that prohibited imports in the U.S. of products made by indentured labourers. As the Molucca copra is all native copra this law did not have any effect on our side.

The ships that carry the copra to Europe nearly all belong on our side to the Batavia freight conference's regular freight lines, real tramps carry only about one-sixth (to Denmark).

On the Australian side tramp steamers play a big rôle and belong chiefly to the London firm of Andrew Weir and Co., they give a much more regular service than one might expect from tramp steamers.

The enterprising firm of W. R. Carpenter and Co. have introduced their own ships (two of about 6,000 and 7,000 tons) to carry the copra to Europe (W. R. C. Line).

Sisal Hemp and Coffee

These are absent in the list of Dutch New Guinea exports, coffee is gaining a small share in Papua, and sisal hemp was in the past exported from Papua (up to 536 tons in 1919). Apparently the Australian shipping monopoly resulting from the application of the Navigation Act affected this industry in 1922 and 1923, though increased market prices caused a final flicker in 1924 and 1925. The bounty of £6 per ton introduced in 1926 came too late. German New Guinea at one time exported 21 tons in 1912, but this was all.

Desiccated Coconut

This seems a good but also the only example of the successful artificial creation of an industry in Australian New Guinea by means of a protective tariff in Australia. This tariff discriminates, not only against non-British desiccated coconut, but also against the Imperial product as manufactured in Ceylon. The preference is respectively 3d and 2d a lb—i.e., £28 and £18 a ton! In April, 1926, this preference was introduced, and the first exports started in Papua in the same year, and in the Terri-

tory of New Guinea in 1929. In 1932 the Territory of Papua had reached an export level of 1,228 tons, and the Territory of New Guinea that of 1,282 tons.

These figures have increased only slightly since, as the Australian biscuit manufacturing industry is now entirely served by Australian New Guinea desiccated coconut. The biggest factory at Pondo (New Britain) has 600 native labourers and 9 Europeans, producing 1,200 tons a year. Also the Roman Catholic mission of Steyl (near Roermond) has a factory at Sek (Alexishafen) near Madang on the mainland of Australian New Guinea.

Animal Products

The export of these include the various kinds of shell and béche de mer (trepang), and before 1921 also bird of paradise feathers.

If we include the Aru Islands in the exports of Dutch New Guinea the comparison is as follows:

MOP shells, trocas and other shells	
Dutch New Guinea 1934	609 tons
Australian New Guinea, 1934-1935	505 "
Trepang	
Dutch New Guinea 1934	61
Australian New Guinea 1934-1935	98 ,

The figures for the Aru Islands in 1934 amount for MOP shell to 505 tons, for trocas, etc., to 5 tons, and for trepang to 40 tons. From this it follows that the exports from Dutch New Guinea proper are relatively small as compared with Australian New Guinea. To my mind, though I may be mistaken, the main cause is the direct relations that exist between Australian New Guinea sellers and Japanese buyers, as also the direct shipping connection. Also the various taxes on our side amount to 15 per cent of the value to be paid on exporting the shell from Dutch New Guinea, whereas in Australian New Guinea these taxes are much lower (maximum £2 a ton, i.e., about 3 per cent of the value). The fishing rights of the native inhabitants have been safeguarded only where they really existed to an appreciable extent, and there is no systematic reserving of fishing rights, like on our side, for natives in all the shallow seas of less than 6 fathoms, regardless of the question whether the native avails himself sufficiently of these fishing possibilities or not.

Looking at the figures, produced in the preceding pages, the shell output is apparently incapable of being increased on the Australian side, already in German times exhaustion of the reefs was feared, but they kept up very well, probably thanks to the constance of the quantity fished.

MOP shell is practically absent in the Territory of New Guinea, and the Territory of Papua only produces some 20 tons annually from the Samarai region (in 1935-1936 this figure dropped to 10 tons)

With regard to the trade in trocas we have already observed that those from Australian New Guinea go to Japan. Of the Dutch New Guinea trocas (or more accurately of the Macassar trocas, including those of Dutch New Guinea) only 15 per cent. goes to Japan and the remainder to Europe.

As to MOP shell trade, it is insignificant in the Territory of New Guinea. Between Papua and Dutch New Guinea there is in this case again a difference, Papua sends most of its MOP shell to London, whereas Dobo (Aru) and Macassar send most of its MOP to New York.

Gold and Copper

These are the only metals exported from Australian New Guinea, in Dutch New Guinea we are just now witnessing a first though very big prospecting campaign for gold.

Copper was only exported from Papua, and the New Guinea Copper Mines, Ltd. once occupied 100 Europeans and 1,000 natives when a big slump in prices came in 1926. The year 1925 saw the biggest exports (11,466 tons, value £201,732), and the industry that originated in 1924 saw its end practically in 1926 (582 tons).

Gold is the most important export item. Papua produced it since 1888, four years after the advent of the British Government in 1884. 1889 was a peak year with £89,000, and after big fluctuations another peak year was reached in 1935-1936 (£82,000). The increase in recent years is due to the hopes of finding fields in Papua similar to those in the Territory of New Guinea, that started production in 1921 or 1922, but jumped up in February, 1926, to very high figures after the discovery of the Edicrecek field. In 1927 £436,743 of gold were exported, and in 1934-1935 the annual output reached the figure of £1,897,244. The year 1935-1936 saw the first decrease (£1,649,788), and the industry seems more or less stabilized.

Anyhow the output in one year in the Territory of New Guinea surpasses the whole production of Papua from 1888 to the present day!

IMPORTS

We will consider first the foodstuffs and luxuries.

Rice

The great importance of the Australian half, as compared to Dutch New Guinea, is clearly shown by the rice imports.

Rice imported

Dutch New Guinea, 1935

1,262 tons

Australian New Guinea, 1934

8 837

Two steamship lines are running between Saigon and Australian New Guinea, but the Dutch line (K P M) has secured practically none of this business

If one considers that Australian New Guinea occupied in 1934 nearly 40,000 indentured labourers against Dutch New Guinea none, it is surprising that the imports of Dutch New Guinea are still one seventh of those of Australian New Guinea

A remarkable feature in Australian New Guinea is the rice import into the interior by aeroplane 1,500 tons are each year flown from the ports of Salamaua and Lae to the goldfields Rice in Salamaua costs £18 per ton and in Wau £37, indeed an expensive transport! One wonders why rice-growing in the goldfields has not been tried on a more extensive scale

Repeated trials to produce rice in the lowlands could not lead to any appreciable production, except at Mekeo in Papua (175 tons a year)

The rice imports into Dutch New Guinea exactly follow the economic depression, rice imports in each port decreased until 1934, and then in 1935 every port showed a rise, which was not so much due to the big explorations for oil and gold, that have just started, because ports without these activities showed this rise just as well Apparently rice is, on our side, a very good index for the economic position

Meat and Fish

They belong in the Australian part, where there are 40,000 indentured labourers, to the biggest import items.

Meat and fish mainly tinned

Imports in Australian New Guinea 1934

£50 000

Imports in Dutch New Guinea, 1935

unknown

A big portion of this import goes to the indentured labourers of the Territory of New Guinea at Wau and Bulolo, it is to be anticipated that the meat import can be substituted in the long run by meat from cattle, held on 'pastoral leases' which have been granted or applied for to an amount of a few thousand acres

In increasing quantities tinned fish originates from Japan, the meat comes mostly from Australia, but also from the Argentine and New Zealand

Tobacco

This item is much more important In Papua, for instance, it is only surpassed in value by the imports of textiles and apparel,

and its value exceeds that of rice. The following figures show the distribution over the Dutch and Australian half

Import trade tobacco		
Dutch New Guinea	1935	87½ tons
Australian New Guinea		126 "

The figure for Dutch New Guinea is, moreover, too low, as the statistical figure does not include the tobacco sold in Dutch New Guinea by the big "floating shops" on the lower deck of the K P M steamers that serve the Dutch New Guinea ports each month

Though there are no tariff barriers against the Dutch East Indies all the tobacco imported in Australian New Guinea comes from Virginia (so-called "twisted sticks"), and all the tobacco imported on our side comes from Lombok and Java. An attempt to replace American by Dutch East Indian tobacco has never been carried out, as far as I know, but for many years endeavours were made in Australian New Guinea to manufacture the very popular sticks locally. We must now wait and see whether a recently created factory in Rabaul can drive out a part of the American tobacco. The natives in both New Guineas use and accept tobacco as payment. Australian tobacco is apparently too expensive to be bought by natives.

The import figures clearly show that the Dutch New Guinea native consumes much more tobacco than his Australian neighbour, because the number of the population reached by imports is far smaller on our side, though this is not reflected by the imports.

Textiles (Piece goods, Apparel, Attire, Drapery Goods)

In the case of this item it is still more obvious than with other import goods, that the Dutch New Guinea statistics are less reliable.

As far as we could ascertain it the position was

Textile imports		
Dutch New Guinea,	1935	Fl 25,000
Australian New Guinea	1934	£ 70,415

The figures are, however, not comparable, as the Dutch figure should be at least four times as big in view of the large quantities of textiles sold by the "floating shops" on board of the K P M steamers, run by "travelling traders" from Macassar.

Though the figures do not reflect it clearly, it may be stated that per native under Government influence more textiles are imported in Dutch New Guinea than in Australian New Guinea, as in the

latter country the bulk of the males (in Papua also the females) are not allowed to wear clothes above the waist.

The country of origin for textiles is chiefly Japan, but much more so on our side than in Australian New Guinea, in the latter country the Japanese imports appeared earlier and predominate more in the Territory of New Guinea than in the Territory of Papua, doubtless on account of the better shipping facilities to Japan, of which the Territory of New Guinea disposes. The recent introduction of a Japanese line (Japan Rabaul New Zealand) will probably increase the quantity of Japanese imports.

Tools, Corrugated Iron, Profile Iron, Rails, Machinery Apparatus, Appliances (not including Automobiles), Vehicles, Aeroplanes

A reliable Dutch figure is unobtainable, though it would be interesting to have it, as it would reflect more than any other item the big oil exploration activities which started in June, 1935.

Iron, machinery, etc. Imports into Australian New Guinea, 1934, £129,500.

Roof iron is an index of the number of non natives (Europeans, Chinese, etc.) Their quarters are always characterized by corrugated iron roofs.

Machinery need only be discussed for Australian New Guinea. It is mainly mining machinery which is imported there, as other industries are lacking, with the exception of small saw-mills, desiccated coconut factories, ice plant, light and power plant in the bigger towns, etc. The country of origin of mining machinery for Papua is Australia, for the Territory of New Guinea it is for the greater part America. The American character of the biggest gold company, the Bulolo Gold Dredging Co., Ltd., is here the governing factor, in Papua all the mining companies are British.

Japan's encroachment upon the imports of all the other countries is not perceptible in the case of ironware and machinery. Even the Kanakas dislike Japanese tools and knives, like all the more intelligent natives of the Moluccas, Fiji, Samoa, etc.

I saw, however, Japanese nails and roof iron in Fakfak in Dutch New Guinea, in Australian New Guinea they are lacking entirely.

The natives of Biak and Manokwari in Dutch New Guinea make their own knives, axes, etc., they understand the blacksmith's craft since many decades.

Oil

As to kerosene (lighting), Dutch New Guinea is gradually equaling Australian New Guinea with regard to the quantity of the imports. In 1934 the figures for lighting kerosene were

Territory New Guinea, 342 tons, Territory of Papua, 133 tons, Dutch New Guinea, 173 tons

The latter figure was 210 tons in 1935, and will be doubled in 1936

Benzine, petrol, etc., including aviation gasoline, show the following figures

Papua, 1934, 954 tons, Territory New Guinea, 1934, 2,746 tons, Dutch New Guinea, 1935 (no figures for 1934), but strongly on the increase, on account of the air survey of the oil concessions of the Netherlands New Guinea Petroleum Co (see map, p 569)* by the Royal Netherlands Indian Airways

The prices of the various oils are higher on our side, which can be partly explained by the heavy excise tax on our side of 13 cents per L (about 2 shilling per gallon, as 1 L. = 4.5 gallons)

TOTAL VOLUME OF TRADE

If we study the figures or estimates available, we see the following for the years 1892, 1905, 1907, 1934 and 1935 (Dutch New Guinea in 1,000 fl, Australian New Guinea in 100 £ 1892 and 1905 £1 = 12 fl, 1934 and 1935 £1 = 6 fl.

	Total for—					
	Dutch New Guinea			Australian New Guinea		
	Exp	Imp	Diff	Exp	Imp	Diff
1892	462	265	+ 197	+ 35	± 47	- 12
1905	725	288	+ 437	± 135	± 224	- 89
1934	373	828	- 455	2,636	1 128	+ 1,418
1935	506	1,217	- 711			

	Total for—					
	Territory of New Guinea			Territory of Papua		
	Exp	Imp	Diff	Exp	Imp	Diff
1892	20	22	- 2	± 15	± 25	- 10
1905	65	144	- 79	± 70	± 80	- 10
1934	2,341	948	+ 1 393	295	270	+ 25

We see from the above statistics that in the period of about thirty years, between 1905 and now, the total volume of the Dutch trade increased some 70 per cent, whereas in the Australian part this increase was about 1,000 per cent. The latter rise was mostly due to the development of the ex German territory, as here the total trade increased by some 1,600 per cent., whereas Papua's trade quietly rose to about the fourfold (300 per cent.)

* The areas for proposed aerial survey and for surface expeditions have no relation to this article and represent plans propagated by the New Guinea Committee

Much more significant is the export surplus. On our side it was big and positive in 1905, and still bigger but negative in 1934, the other two territories show the more normal change from a negative to a positive surplus. If the Dutch had put money in Dutch New Guinea in the past instead of drawing benefits from it, we might have had the same normal course of affairs, as is shown by the Australian territories. Fortunately from the comparison of the years 1934 and 1935 the reader can learn for the Dutch part that we now put every year increasing sums of money into this country. If the statistics for 1936 were available this would come out still more clearly, as in that year Government, oil and gold mining companies all started to spend big sums in this territory, the former to equip some 5 new European and some 25 new native Government stations (see map on p. 568), the latter to bring in aeroplanes, drilling machinery, etc., to explore the mineral wealth (see map, p. 569). It would not surprise the writer if the total volume of trade in the next ten years would approach that of the Australian part, this of course depends much on the result of the oil and gold explorations, as forests and agriculture alone, even if strongly developed, could not make up the difference.

THE HAGUE

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THE COMING RURAL HYGIENE CONFERENCE IN JAVA

BY A S HAYNES, C M G
(Malayan Civil Service, Retired)

PRELIMINARY

FROM August 3 to 13, 1937, is to be held a Conference of Eastern Nations in Java, to consider rural hygiene on a basis of rural reconstruction. No such Conference in the East has ever been held before, embracing, as this one does, all the countries of Asia together with Australia. This vast area includes more than half the population of the whole world. Ninety per cent of the people are agricultural. To promote their health and happiness the Conference is being held.

HISTORY

In 1931, under the auspices of the League of Nations, there was held a European Conference on Rural Hygiene. At the session of the Assembly in 1932, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Prime Minister of Baroda and representative of India, supported by the representative of China, proposed that, as soon as financial conditions should permit, the League of Nations convene a similar Conference in the East. This proposal was repeated by the same Government at the Assembly in 1934, and the desire was expressed that the Conference should meet in the not too distant future.

In the meanwhile the Health Organization of the League had been studying the question, and finding that it had evoked interest in Eastern countries decided that the Conference take place in 1937. A preparatory Commission,* appointed early in 1936, made a tour from April to August through India, Burma, Siam, Malaya, Indo-China, the Philippines, the Netherlands East Indies and Ceylon, and it is upon the basis of the Commission's report that the agenda for the Conference has been drawn up. The main heads of the agenda are as follows:

- 1 Medical and Public Health Services. Organization and Training. Curative and Preventive Action. Finance.
- 2 Rural Reconstruction. Co-operative Movement.

* The Commission was composed of Mr A. S. Haynes, C.M.G., Malayan Civil Service, retired, Chairman, Professor C. D. de Langen, Professor of Medicine at Utrecht, formerly Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Batavia, Dr E. J. Pampana of the Health Section of the League of Nations, Secretary of the Malaria Commission.

3 Sanitation Housing, Water Supplies, Disposal of Wastes, Fly Control

4 Nutrition

5 Measures for combating Certain Diseases in Rural Districts—*e g*, Malaria, Plague, Leprosy, etc

Any one of these heads is in itself a vast subject when considered in relation to the area of its application—the whole of Asia. Within the limits of this article it is possible to discuss only certain general considerations, with some particular emphasis on finance, on which nearly all projected improvements depend. If these few pages shall succeed in awakening an enlightened interest in this great Conference of Eastern Nations, a step towards the objective will have been made

CHANGING CONDITIONS

The agriculturist in the East as in all countries is conservative, not without good reason perhaps. If to this conservatism we add poverty fatalism, apathy, we seem to get a vision of the unchanging East, a static immobility resistant to the dynamic pressure even of those who wish to help. But however true this picture may have been in the past, or may be today in particular localities, it is no longer a complete picture of the truth. Poverty, malnutrition and isolation may induce fatalism and apathy. These are conditions of environment, and adaptation to environment is a law of all nature. Change the environment, and other changes will follow.

Today all Eastern countries are working towards the removal of poverty, malnutrition, ill health and isolation. A glance through the list of Government Departments dealing with subjects like Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Irrigation, Education, Co-operation, Medicine and Health, to name only some of them, will reveal these activities and the large sums of money being spent on them. It will be one of the functions of the Java Conference to take stock of the present position, to pool experience and to recommend lines of action.

Changes in world affairs occur rapidly today and their repercussions are felt even in distant villages of Oriental lands. The village is no longer a self-contained unit living by itself, on itself and for itself, it is a small live part of an organic whole. Its fraction of produce may be one of the million units exported for consumption to the other end of the world, and thus this connecting thread of commerce makes it to that extent dependent on the economic conditions of distant countries completely outside its own orbit. Much cotton, jute, rubber, copra are produced on small holdings. Visualize for an instant the distant peasant on

his fraction of land, his hard work may produce a good crop, but if world markets are suddenly upset and his produce not in demand it will then and there become worthless to him. A new set of conditions has arisen, the problem is to find a right adaptation to them.

The self-contained village did not progress, it may even have disappeared, being wiped out by malaria or famine. Today its contacts provide great opportunities, but it is clearly the duty of the Governments to guide the peasant wisely so that he may not rashly abandon his rice fields, his food crops, for new products which put money in his hand today, but leave it empty tomorrow. There must be a wise combination of food crops and money crops.

THE RESPONSE OF THE PEASANT

To what extent can the peasant respond? What does his apathy mean? A Cochinchina report of some years ago well described this apathy. *Ils (les paysans) subordonnent leurs revenus à la satisfaction de leurs infimes besoins. Ils travaillent d'autant moins que leur travail est plus productif, préfèrent l'oisiveté dans la misère à l'aisance par le travail.* The Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1928) states 'Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture, by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself.' It is easy to overstate the apathy case. It is so commonly stated that it is commonly accepted without question, and perceptions are naturally coloured by that which the eyes and other senses are attuned to perceive. It is the experience of the writer during some thirty-five years of life in the East that many things which it was said the Asiatic could never be brought to do are the accepted practices today. *Social customs connected with births, marriages and deaths* are notoriously difficult to change. Rural indebtedness is commonly due to the force of village opinion which compels the observance of such customs upon a scale for which there is no money, a marriage feast may involve a lifetime of debt. A change in these things was said to be impossible, the visionary heaven of impractical enthusiasts. But this visionary heaven has in some measure come down to earth. Official reports are little read, let the newspapers speak. In a recent paper from the East we read of specific cases in which the Malays are learning economy (for which they were never famous), that extravagance is being checked and the outlay reduced on marriages and funerals. This is through the instrumentality of Co-operative Societies, called Better Living Societies. These are facts of today, and quite contradictory of the opinions commonly expressed yesterday about the possibilities of co-operation.

It is easy to find instances of failure amongst Co-operative Societies, especially during the recent years of economy depression, it is equally easy to find instances of failure in industry and commerce on Western lines. Progress is often zig-zag. But on the whole there is gain, and each successive generation starts ahead of its predecessor. The extent to which the peoples of Eastern lands are responding to co-operation is not generally known. It is amazing to read that in 1926-1927 there were in British India some 67,000 agricultural primary societies with over two and a quarter million members and a total working capital of nearly two hundred and fifty million rupees. In 1934 in one Indian Province alone (Bengal) there were nearly 25,000 societies, with a membership of 824,000 and a working capital of one hundred and seventy eight million rupees.

As regards the peasant himself it is necessary to have abundant faith in him. The attitude of those who would go into the villages and persuade the people to better ways of living and rouse them to the desire to attain a higher standard of health and prosperity is an all important factor. There is ample room for believing in the response of the peasant, and there is little doubt that the Java Conference will illuminate this view. But spectacular progress must not be expected, although it may come here and there. One generation is a short time in the life of a people.

THE PLANTER

In some countries of the East large plantations of sugar, tobacco, tea, coffee, coconuts, rubber and other products are disseminated through the countryside, interspersed, it may be, with the native villages.

What is the effect of such contacts, and what opportunities do they offer? In the experience of the writer, if the concerns are managed on the right lines, the effect should be mutually beneficial and the opportunities mutually advantageous. Amongst the needs of the native are: Cash for his own requirements and for payment of taxes, improved housing, safe water-supply, better sanitary arrangements for the disposal of waste of all kinds, better and more food and generally the experience of a higher standard of living. All these he will obtain on the plantation. At the same time his occupation will teach him better methods of soil management, of plant sanitation, of cultivating and preparing for market the particular crop. All this will be a part of his environment, and the extent to which he adapts himself will be a measure of the contribution he may make towards the improvement of his own village. Admittedly his contribution is often small, but he himself and his children are stronger and healthier beings. The

improved methods now common in small native rubber holdings are largely the result of the examples seen on the large rubber estates, and in soil management the Indore process of manufacturing humus on tea estates has spread in some places to the countryside. Again in health matters there can be little doubt that the efficient control of malaria on many of the large estates must have an educational value of no mean compass on the labouring population who benefit by it. In rural reconstruction the existence of such contacts is a useful element*. This will be revealed in any comparison between localities in which they exist and from which they are absent. They can exist without deracinating the native.

The extension of health services in villages is an activity which planters will strongly support. The anopheline mosquito and other carriers of disease do not recognize estate boundaries, and the expenditure of thousands of pounds on anti malarial or other health measures on estates may be vitiated by the proximity of unhealthy villages. The complaint is often heard that while the Government on the one hand enforces properly the provision of extensive health services on large estates, it on the other hand neglects improperly to provide such health services for the peasant in his village. Such a charge is not without warrant. But there are extenuating circumstances: the area is so vast. Governments are not lacking in will but in money. The difficulties of finance, discussed lower down, will, it is hoped, be carefully considered at the Java Conference.

THE CAPITAL OF THE CULTIVATOR

Soil fertility is the real capital of the cultivator. The preservation of it intact is vital. It is one of the fundamental questions in any consideration of rural hygiene and rural reconstruction. On it, as the main source of nutrition, rests the basis of the life and health of plant, animal and man.

In some tropical countries, notably in Africa, a system of shifting agriculture has been practised. The soil in primeval jungle, uninterfered with by man, maintains fertility by the processes of nature, shifting agriculture fells and burns the jungle, takes the best out of the soil, makes no replacement and moves on to destroy another patch of jungle. In settled communities loss of

* The official Report on the terrible malaria epidemic of 1934-1935 in Ceylon records that the Planting Community there has great resources of ability, public spirit and local knowledge scattered in many remote areas relates the valuable services of Superintendents of Estates given from a sense of public duty and without remuneration *before the Governmental emergency organisation could get going* and makes specific recommendations for utilizing such services in future emergencies.

fertility is a more gradual process, it works slowly and almost imperceptibly, but with the inevitability of gradualness, and it may become clearly evident only when it is an accomplished fact. Concurrently with a growing decrease in yield from the land there is a growing increase in the population which the land has to support. In extreme cases fertile land may be turned into desert, in others, the result may be rural decay, extending perhaps to national decay. The case for prevention seems self-evident. And yet there is a strange neglect of warnings even in countries as progressive and scientifically staffed as the United States. An authority states that alternative droughts and floods are perhaps in the order of Nature, but they have been made increasingly destructive by the lack of foresight with which the forest wealth and fertility of the soil have been, and continue to be, exploited. Over-cropping, over-cultivation, over-stocking, the reckless destruction of timber—all this deprives the soil of its protective covering and of its water holding capacity. During the dry season the top soil becomes powdered, to be swept away by the wind in the dust storms which become increasingly common every summer over large tracts of the country. The soil in its reduced physical condition loses the power to retain moisture and is washed away. A leading American authority estimates that since the country was settled an area has been denuded equal to the total area of cultivated land in Germany.

If the Java Conference can focus interest on such problems in Asia and Australia it will not have been in vain.

How can soil fertility be restored and maintained? The means must be such as will satisfy the requirements of the peasant means which he has at hand and can therefore afford, and means which he can understand. They must satisfy the demands of common sense, and they must accord with the principles of sanitation. The Chinese have for countless generations maintained a dense population on the land, maintaining at the same time soil fertility. They have attained this by composting. At the Institute of Plant Industry at Indore in Central India, methods of composting have been studied and worked out until there has been evolved the now famous Indore process inseparably connected with the name of Sir Albert Howard.

This process of maintaining soil fertility is based on the natural law of returning to the soil all that is taken out of it. Its unique merit is that it satisfies the demands of both the cultivator and the health officer, and that it relies on means which the peasant has at hand and which he can afford. It is also a process which those who live on and by the land instinctively understand. It is pre-eminently scientific because it is Nature's own process. It is simple. The composting of wastes of all kind, vegetable and

animal, rural and urban, and the returning of them to their original home, the soil, is a fruitful field rich in benefit to plant, animal and human health. The disposal of waste products, especially in towns where population is dense, demands a large and costly organization, it begins and ends with waste. If by a process which satisfies hygiene these waste products can be converted into a valuable form of manure, the gain is immense.* The Chinese agriculturist has from time immemorial returned everything to the soil and so enabled it continuously to support a teeming population for thousands of years, but his methods are not sanitary. The Indore process fulfils all these demands without defect. It is based on simple biochemical principles, by which all kinds of wastes are composted to form humus, and it lends support to the view that soil fertility is ultimately the foundation of quality and disease in crops, in the animals which consume those crops and in the human beings who feed on both. It is being widely adopted to correct that impoverishment of the soil which is a potent factor in faulty nutrition with resultant disease in plants, beasts and men.

Nutrition is one of the most important subjects on the agenda of the Conference, but no consideration of it will be complete without reference to the earth out of which all forms of life are created and to which they must return.

FINANCE

The 1931 European Conference on Rural Hygiene recorded the following conclusion about budgets:

In view of the wide variation in health programmes in the different countries and the considerable difference in local conditions, it is not possible at present to recommend a model budget for a rural health district or to state what should be the *per capita* expenditure for health purposes. It is also impossible to decide on the percentages of the budgets of States, provinces, districts and communes which should be allocated to the health services.

This is common sense. It can be accepted as regards Eastern countries also.

One of the most difficult tasks for the delegates at the Java Conference will be to find an answer for the common objection to every improvement "That will cost more money. These demands are interminable. Where is the money to come from?"

Picture a teeming race of poverty-stricken peasants, apathetic

* Under this process even pests like the water hyacinth which chokes up whole rivers can be made use of.

and indolent from malnutrition, malaria and general ill health. More money wanted for all the services which will reconstruct the countryside and for the roads and bridges which will open the way, and every department of Government asking for more staff. The revenue can be increased only by further taxes on a penniless people. It seems almost hopeless. What is the answer?

No Central Government can be expected to bear the burden of caring for the health and welfare of the whole population. There must be help from local bodies and from voluntary organizations. The members of the preparatory Commission were privileged to see and hear of the extremely valuable work being carried on by many of the non-official agencies. They include all those voluntary bodies, associations, societies, organizations, missions and individuals who are working towards the common end of rural reconstruction. Their unselfish labours are of the greatest value. They supply that diversity of treatment which is required by diversity of peoples and conditions, their small units are elastic and capable of rapid adjustments where found necessary in a way which is not possible to a less flexible State organization functioning over a vast area. At the Conference at least one of the delegates will be from such a body.

Official funds for health work in rural areas are usually derived in varying proportions from the State, the province and the district with its subdivisions. In the initial stages, or in poor districts, the State will have to provide the largest proportion, but it is advisable that the principle of local support should be inculcated whenever possible and that the proportion contributed locally should gradually increase. While it is the function of the State to lay down policy and to secure a reasonable uniformity and continuity, it is considered that the greater interest taken in health work when administered locally enables funds in support of the programme to be obtained more readily. Generally speaking, to provide an adequate health service, local units must bear some part of the State's financial burden. Private health agencies can also shoulder a part of this burden. Article 25 of the Covenant of the League of Nations specially provides that

"The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world."

There are various other means by which finance may be assisted. First of all there is the increase of wealth or resources by enhancing income and reduction of waste. In countries predominantly agricultural, such policy must have a rural bias. The pro-

motion of soil fertility by a natural method such as the Indore process in combination with improved varieties of crops giving much higher yields will enhance the national income at its source. Other productive improvements are irrigation projects, and in some countries the consolidation of holdings from which increased land revenue results*. Hydro-electric power schemes can help in relieving economic poverty in rural areas, they will provide power for lift irrigation from existing wells. Rural water supplies reduce sickness and mortality figures, increasing economic man power and converting loss into profit. In the Netherlands Indies a remarkable feat has been accomplished out of rubber restriction a sum of about eighty million guilders, accumulated from the special export duty on native rubber, is being utilized to provide roads, bridges, health and other services for the sole benefit of the peasantry who contributed it.

There is also the question of obtaining better value in the expenditure of public money. With limited funds it is an unwise use of money to sink it in the construction of buildings unnecessarily large, elaborate or permanent, particularly in rural areas, where a simpler building put up by the local peasantry, of their own local materials, may be equally efficient. The saving on construction will release money for works of health and sanitation. This method will also have the effect of educating the people to a sense of true values, and showing them that health is more important than bricks and mortar.

Mention may also be made of small self-supporting agricultural colonies for mental patients, improved communications and transport facilities for the benefit of the agricultural producer, funds for specific purposes made available by the governing or protecting power such as the Colonial Development Fund of nearly one million pounds annually employed in making grants or loans to territories under the Colonial Office, sickness insurance if it were possible to apply it, in some partial form, to Eastern countries.

There are doubtless other aids to finance which the experience of the participating nations will reveal to the Conference. There is no need to take a pessimistic view. Means will be found. But the most fundamental point of all is the necessity for the Governments, responsible as they are for the happiness and welfare of the individuals composing the State, to realize in practical form that

* In the Punjab Province of India fragmentation rendered 5 per cent. of the holdings useless for agriculture and absorbed 1 per cent. in boundaries. More than 600 000 acres have been consolidated at a small and gradually decreasing cost per acre with the following advantages: Straightening of boundaries, improvement of holdings from an uneconomic to an economic size, provision of land for schools, recreation grounds, roads, proper ponds, manure pits and other requirements, model villages produced out of previous waste and confusion, increased land revenue.

almost the greatest contribution which can be made towards that happiness and welfare is the attainment of health. The health of the rural population must be in the forefront of the programme, and financial provision must be made for the services adequate to secure and maintain it. It is, we believe, correct to say that hitherto there has been insufficient weight attached to this in the preparation of the budgets of States. And today, when expenditure is rising in many directions, the difficulty will be urged that it is hard to find the money. But every difficulty can be overcome by a determination to overcome it. The determination must be made more powerful than the difficulty. The Conference, if it agrees with this view, has the unique opportunity of pressing, with the force which the unanimity of so many different States representatives must command, its adoption by each individual State concerned.

Finance is *bifrons*—it faces both ways. It is at once the limiting factor, and therefore the bogey, and it is the golden key, the open sesame which makes everything possible.

The limitations of space make it impossible to touch on many of the great problems to be studied, such as malaria, that great scourge of the tropics, and the pooling of experience in the administrative as well as the technical field, which was so strongly advocated by M. le Neveu recently in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

SIMPLICITY AND FUNDAMENTALS

There is perhaps a danger today of too much complexity, the common reproach of learning more and more about less and less. It is possible to flounder hopelessly in morasses of statistics, to be fogged and bogged in the mists and masses of reports, to lose direction in the myopia of the microscope. There is a need to get back to the simplicity of fundamentals, to see life steadily and see it whole. The mellow glory of the Asiatic stage (if a slight misquotation be forgiven) may perhaps be found in Java.

A Malay proverb says: *Biar lambat asal selamat*, which may be translated, 'There is no hurry provided you are on the right road.' To show that road is the task of the Java Conference.

THROUGH THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS AND THE ARMENIAN CILICIAN KINGDOM

BY E H KING

AT the conclusion of an article which I contributed to the *ASIATIC REVIEW* in April, 1936, descriptive of a journey through the Soviet Republic of Armenia, I touched upon the emigrations westwards towards the region of the Taurus Mountains in Cilicia which supervened upon the downfall of the Armenian Kingdom, and of the subsequent formation, under one Reuben in the year 1080, of the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia or Armenian Cilician Kingdom.

In the following pages I propose to lay before the reader an account of the journey I undertook during the early spring and summer of last year through the very heart of this forgotten land, but inasmuch as the localities visited in the course of my travels do not, unfortunately, conveniently lend themselves to a chronological sequence of events (in fact, rather the reverse) it appears desirable to preface this article by a brief historical outline of the occurrences which gave rise to the formation of, together with a few general observations concerning, the Armenian Cilician Kingdom which will be amplified later as I proceed.

During the distressful periods which so frequently recurred in the history of their country even as far back as the fifth century, numbers of Armenians had emigrated to various parts of Asia Minor, and colonies sprang up in the regions of Cæsarea, Sivas, *Albistan*, and in *Cappadocia generally*. When, however, the city of Ani, the former Armenian capital, fell to the Seljouki Turks, under their enterprising Sultan Alp Arslan, in the year 1063, and when, following upon the sacking of the capital by his ferocious hordes, the Sultan proceeded to drive the Armenians from their plains westward even as far as the town of Melasgerd north of Lake Van, the numbers of emigrants perforce vastly increased. Actually at the time of its capture Ani was manned by a Byzantine garrison since Gaghiḱ II, last of the Armenian Kings of the Bagratyd Dynasty, had, in the year 1045, been tricked by the Greek Emperor into exchanging his capital for lands on the frontiers of Cappadocia and a palace in Constantinople, and this year thus witnessed the actual decline of the ancient Armenian Kingdom. The exiled and unfortunate King Gaghiḱ was subsequently murdered by the Greeks near the fort of Kizistra in Cilicia in the year 1079, which fate he had rather brought upon

himself since a short time previously he had visited the Greek Patriarch Marcus in his palace at Cæsarea (one of the bitterest of the persecutors of the Armenians) and at the conclusion of a doubtless excellent meal, caused his servants, upon a given signal, to seize the unsuspecting prelate, together with his large dog (which was contemptuously called Armenian), and to fasten them both securely in a bag which had been hitherto concealed. They then proceeded to rain blows upon the innocent animal which, not unnaturally, thereupon turned upon its master and bit him to death. This unfortunate event indirectly gave rise to the formation of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom, since after the vengeful murder of Gaghiq, Reuben, his cousin, the founder of the dynasty bearing his name, fled into the Taurus Mountains and established himself in a fastness known as Pandzerpert where he subsequently gathered about him many of the more adventurous and warlike of the Armenian emigrants.

From the small principality thus formed in the heart of these wild mountainous regions, which had been largely depopulated during the earlier Arab occupation, was evolved the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia. Although they had formed a friendly alliance with the Crusaders who passed through Cilicia in 1097, the Armenian Monarchs, during the 300 years of the existence of the Kingdom, were surrounded by hostile peoples and were almost continuously engaged in warfare with Greeks, Arabs, Persians, Turks, and Egyptians with varying fortunes, in consequence of which the limits of their dominions were constantly changing, sometimes being extended beyond the boundaries of Cilicia westward into Isauria and northwards into Cappadocia, whilst at other times they were confined to the mountain fastnesses themselves. Of the ultimate decline of the Kingdom I shall write later.

Before ever quitting these shores it was made abundantly clear to me that the intending traveller in the remote regions of Anatolia must be in possession of something else besides a passport. He must, in effect, carry an official introduction from some *Turkish national* to the Ministry of the Interior at Ankara, who alone can overcome on his behalf the official obstruction which would otherwise be encountered at the very outset of his journey, and furthermore he must state his motive in desiring to travel away from the main lines of communication. Having, by good fortune, been most kindly favoured with the necessary introduction, I presented myself to the appropriate department in the capital, and, being provided with tangible proofs of my occupation as a journalist, I was able to satisfy the officials upon the latter score. Once the ice had been broken, so to speak, nothing could possibly have exceeded the kindness and courtesy of the Turkish authorities, who forthwith telegraphed to the Valis, or

governors, of the vilayets through which my journey lay, requesting them to afford me all possible assistance. Here also I gladly express my gratitude to the staff of the British Embassy for all the hospitality they showed me and for the kindly interest they displayed in my journey, their only regret being that they were unable to be of assistance to me in an official capacity. I had, in my ignorance, always imagined that ambassadorial staffs must be rather formal gentlemen who would scarcely have the time or inclination to concern themselves to any extent with a lone traveller bound for the wilds. Now I know better!

Having left the bulk of my luggage at Ankara, I set forth by a night train for the town of Cæsarea (or Kayseri), which lies some 300 miles south-east of the capital, and arrived early upon the following morning, being the 29th of May. It came as a pleasant surprise to be greeted at the station in atrocious English by my arabachi, or cab driver, a rotund, rollicking, jocular individual, who was at pains to explain to me from the box seat of his decrepit vehicle, that he had been captured by our forces during the Palestine campaign, and it came as a still more pleasant surprise when, upon arrival at what Baedeker would describe as the unassuming Hotel Istanbul, he flatly declined to accept any remuneration for his services on account of his high opinion of the British people and their considerate treatment extended to prisoners of war.

Cæsarea was not only the most convenient centre from which to set out on my journey southwards, but is also an old walled town of great charm and historic interest, possessing important Armenian associations. The earliest city, known by the name of Mazaca, lay about a mile south of the present town between two spurs of Mount Erjeus (the ancient Mons Argæus, 13,100 feet) at a height of 3,500 feet. The name was derived from one Mosoch, the legendary ancestor of the Cappadocian race, and the city constituted the seat of their Kings as early as 600 B.C. Its importance largely waned during the sweeping westward conquests of Tigranes the Great, between 90 and 69 B.C., who raised the Armenian Kingdom to the height of its prosperity and power, and who deported many of the inhabitants to his new city of Tigranokerta in the south. Later, under the Roman Empire, Cæsarea recovered its importance in a large measure, and it was from the Emperor Tiberius that it received its present name at the time of his conquest of Cappadocia. Christianity was doubtless introduced here at a very early date (1 Peter 1. 1) and it was as a great Christian Metropolis that the city acquired its fame. St. Gregory the Illuminator, patron saint of Armenia, of whom I wrote in my former article, was carried here as an infant from his birthplace at Vagarshapat by his nurse Sophra and her brother

Euthalius in 257, and was baptized, educated, and ultimately consecrated Bishop of Armenia by the Patriarch Leondius of Cæsarea in 300 A.D. I sought in vain for any recognizable remains amongst the hoary fragments of walls which, together with innumerable skulls and bones, lie scattered on the hills deploying to the south of the town, and with the exception of Mount Erjeus itself, there exists no feature on the landscape upon which the Saint must once have gazed.

The present day town (Fig. 1) actually dates from the time of St Basil the Great, who was born in Cæsarea in 329 A.D., becoming its Bishop in 370, and who erected churches, an orphanage, and a fine bishop's palace, but here again practically all traces have disappeared since, in the time of Justinian, the city was largely rebuilt and refortified. It fell to the Seljouki Turks in 1064, and, as seen today, the walls and the fine old castle, partly built on the foundations of Justinian's day, together with the beautiful Huyant Mosque, represent the work of that famous Seljouki Sultan Ala-ed-din Kai Kubad I. during the thirteenth century, restored in 1577 under the Osmanlı Turks.

I am open to correction, but I believe the Church of St Gregory the Illuminator in the southern quarter of Cæsarea to be the only Armenian church in Anatolia where services are still conducted. Erected in 1856 it presents, as might be expected, a rather tawdry appearance today, but the Gregorian priest, whom I visited, still contrives to minister to the 2,000 odd Armenians who (out of a population of 70,000) inhabit the town. Upon his death the church will be doubtless either closed or pulled down as was the case a few years ago with the fourteenth-century church of St Sarkis.

At Evkeré, about 10 miles north-east of Cæsarea, lies the great monastery of St. John the Baptist, which, for many centuries, constituted the summer residence of the Armenian Archbishop. According to tradition, it was founded by the Patriarch Leondius in the fourth century, who is said to have here consecrated St Gregory as Bishop of Armenia, although, according to another version, the actual church stood on the site of a mosque in the village of Husaryuk south of the remains of the earliest city, either locality may be the correct one or possibly neither! In any event, the original little Greek Church attributed to St. Leondius has, I understand, been preserved amidst the monastery buildings. The Armenians first occupied the domain in 1079, which is picturesquely situated on the side of a hill, and enlarged it enormously, particularly at the time of Archbishop Karamanian from Talas in 1779, and more recently in 1913 by Bishop Terdat from the same town, who added the school buildings. The clergy and monks only left Evkeré as recently as 1928, although on four

previous occasions they had been ejected and later permitted to return. The buildings are now used for military purposes, and I was only allowed to view them from without.

A shrine within the erstwhile monastic domain encloses the traditional tomb of the Baptist (Fig. 2), which is still periodically tended by a priest, it was formerly the scene of important pilgrimages upon June 24 and August 29, being the feast-days of the Saint.

In the same valley I visited the erstwhile monastery of St. Daniel, the cells of which are hewn out of the rock. Tradition assigns it to the Apostle St. Thaddeus, who travelled from Palestine, through Armenia into Cappadocia, between 35 and 43 A.D. A tomb within this monastery is supposed to be that of King Oshin, who reigned over the Armenian Cilician Kingdom between 1308 and 1320. If this be so, which I greatly doubt, then Oshin must have been buried, for no apparent reason, outside the confines of his kingdom and far from his capital where his predecessors were interred. Frankly, I am inclined to accept both of these traditions with the proverbial grain of salt.

Before leaving these regions for the Taurus Mountains I accepted, most gratefully, an invitation to spend a few days at the American College at the small town of Talas situated about 7 miles south of Cæsarea, and curiously constructed upon the side of a cliff, many of the older dwellings being rock hewn. Talas was a flourishing centre in Byzantine days and was once the home of St. Saba, the founder of the celebrated monastery near Jerusalem.

The American College, standing at the summit of the town, originated in the Protestant Girls School, founded in 1886. Today a general, strictly secular, education is provided under the energetic direction of its principal, Mr. Paul Nilson, which is attended by some 30 Turkish and Armenian students, and a splendidly equipped workshop serves to provide them with a trade at their fingers' ends.

To Mr. Nilson and to Dr. and Mrs. Nute, under whose hospitable roof I stayed, I owe a debt of gratitude which I can never hope to repay, for all their kindness and invaluable advice. Their contention that they were only too happy to welcome one of their own folk into their lonely life seemed to me quite beside the point.

About $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Talas, and situated in the heart of a profound and narrow ravine, being reached by a pass running half way up and along the side of the cliff, are the remains of the Armenian monastery of Derevenk. Like that of Evkeré and at Tomarza (which I visited later), it is of Greek origin, having been founded and dedicated to the Holy Trinity by St. Basil himself in the year 363. The Armenians occupied it in 1516, re-dedicating it to St. Sarkis, re-building the church and adding a guest house

mud, from which our combined efforts were only able to extricate it after a delay of nearly two hours. When, however, as we neared the village of Suwangen, scarcely 2 miles further on, a similar fate befell us, I realized that the time had now arrived to discard this luxurious mode of transport for others more befitting the nature of the country I was approaching, the more so as I was informed that the Zamanti River on which the village lay had overflowed its banks and become quite impassable. Accompanied by the police official, therefore, I now sought out the Mukhtar, or head man, and explained the position to him, when it transpired that all the flocks and cattle belonging to the village were located upon grazing land in the hills to the south. My escort, being now assured of additional energy on the part of lusty villagers in coping with our mud logged vehicle I therefore bade them farewell, and, in company with a Yuruk tribesman as guide, set off on foot for the *yaila* or summer encampment of these nomadic folk which lay over hill and dale some four miles distant. The Turkish tribes inhabiting the regions of the Taurus Mountains today consist for the most part of the entirely pastoral Yuruks, who own large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, the Turkomans who are partly pastoral and partly agricultural, and who carry on most of the now largely diminished camel transport, and, to a considerably lesser extent, the Avshars who originally emanated from north west Persia, but who were driven out by the Circassian immigrants after the Crimean War, and who then settled upon the slopes of the Anti Taurus range. I also encountered more than one group of Kurds, whose true country, however, is in Eastern Anatolia, particularly in the region between Erzerum and Lake Van.

Upon arrival at the *yaila* I was able to procure an ox cart upon which to resume my journey, for I was anxious to reach the Dedi Bel Pass upon the western slopes of the Anti Taurus before nightfall. Should the reader ever find himself constrained to travel by one of these crude two-wheeled contraptions, let me advise him to ensconce himself well out of range of the ox's tail, *particularly as the journey proceeds*, since the beast has a playful habit of twirling this portion of its anatomy with devastating effect, necessitating in my own case copious ablutions in a (providentially) nearby mountain stream!

The approach to the Dedi Bel Pass necessitates a precipitous ascent of from 4,550 feet to 8,600 feet, and is used by the natives as a short cut, particularly when travelling from Albistan westward across the Anti Taurus to the Tomarza district, it is more suitable for pack animals than for the ox-cart, and I proceeded on foot when we entered the rocky gorge leading to my destination, since, quite apart from the relief afforded to the oxen, it would

have proved a physical impossibility to have kept one's seat owing to the swerving and jolting which occurred as boulder after boulder was traversed! The hamlet of Dedi Dibi, which I reached as darkness was falling, lies just beyond the Pass, and I was hospitably received by the Mukhtar, it consists of a cluster of flat roofed stone dwellings and long, low tents of dark brown goat-s-hair cloth, such as are in common use among the Yuruks (the circular dome shaped 'yurts' are more commonly encountered in the Turkoman encampments) I was soon ensconced upon a plump mattress and surrounded with cushions within one of these latter, being subsequently served with an evening meal, which was repeated with deadly monotony at every encampment or native 'khan' which I visited during my journey through the mountains, and to which subsequent reference need not therefore be made! The bread, which is of a dark colour and somewhat gritty, is rolled into what resemble enormous pancakes, and can be laid across the lap in the manner of a serviette! The staple diet is the ubiquitous pilav, a dish composed of rice and small pieces of meat (usually palatable), and which may be washed down by spoonfuls of 'yaghourt' (curdled milk) Eggs are only occasionally obtainable, but goat's milk cheese is invariably produced, as is also Turkish coffee, to which latter I am, fortunately, extremely partial, although I never succeeded in acquiring a taste for 'yaghourt'.

The *Anti Taurus Mountains* constitute an offshoot of the East Taurus proper and consist of two distinct ranges. The western range breaks away from the Taurus close to Bakır Dagh (or Copper Mt), and runs in a north-easterly direction, various sections bearing distinct names, whilst the eastern range is known by the name of Binboa Dagh throughout and runs due north, both eventually becoming merged in the high ground north of the town of Azizieh. The two ranges are divided by the valley of the ancient River Sarus, now known as the Geuk Su, which, after receiving the waters of the Zamanti and other streams, enters Cilicia in the south as the River Sihun.

After some difficulty I secured horses in the morning and set off at an early hour in an easterly direction across the Sarus valley, which now opened out before me, and which constitutes, without question, one of the most historic regions in the whole of Anatolia. In bygone days the existence of Golden Comana, the holy city of the Goddess Ma, in the direction of which I was travelling, accounted for the peculiar fame and sanctity in which this valley was held. The Persian Royal Road and the great Roman trade route to the East traversed it, Greek, Saracen, Seljouk Turk, and Mongolian armies once swept across its grassy slopes, and at least one division of the Crusaders passed this way

when journeying southwards towards Palestine. Generally speaking, prior to the year 840 A.D., the great armies operating in Asia Minor proceeded through the Cilician Gates (which I visited later), and subsequent to that year across the Sarus valley. The ancient city of Comana once lay around the village of Shahr, which I reached after a ride of from 4 to 5 hours. It is said to have constituted one of the most magnificent and famous cities of all time. Strabo writes of the great Temple of the Goddess *Malying in this deep valley, being served by 6,000 priests and votaries of both sexes and of its orgiastic worship, which included public prostitution after the Semitic manner.* Comana became known as the strongest centre of pre Aryan influence in Asia Minor, and even under Pompey its priestly dynasts were respected and retained virtual independence for many years, since here the high-priest ranked next to the king and usually belonged to the same family, his revenues being derived from the extensive lands appertaining to the temple. In the third century it became a Roman colony, being then known as Hieropolis, but later in Justinian's time it reverted to its former name with the added prefix of "Golden" (*q v*). I cannot find recorded any historical mention of the date of the city's decline.

Reports had reached me of the stupendous ruins, both Roman and Greek, which still abounded (though I could discover no one who had visited the site), and my eyes strained the landscape for a veritable Acropolis and Carthage combined lying in this remote valley. Never have I been so utterly disillusioned! True, the remains would be interesting if casually encountered, but I had been primed up with too many eulogistic and thoroughly unreliable vapourings on the subject! A small theatre in a very ruinous condition might be described as the "pièce de résistance," a couple of small Byzantine arches, which would be passed unheeded in Athens, and certainly a rather charming little temple, comprise the entire Greek remains, in fact, the entire visible remains of *any* sort on the left bank of the Sarus, whilst on the right bank the Roman Empire is represented by a short stretch of terrace upon which are the bases of a few columns. I had intended to spend the entire following day amidst the ruins, which may be inspected with ease in the space of an hour! This is not to say that the undergrowth over a vast area is not studded with fragments of columns and odd pieces of ancient masonry, and doubtless the city once presented a magnificent appearance, but that is quite beside the point!

The Armenians did not settle in Shahr itself until 1860, but if the Binboa Dagh to the east be synonymous with the "Black Mountain" of olden days, which I believe to be the case from a study of an early map and also by reason of the extremely dark

colour of the rock of which it is composed, then the mountain formed part of the dominions of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom and within its fastnesses was located the monastery of Areg, whither the Patriarch Gregory Vikayser retreated in 1099 and, collecting many learned theologians, both Armenian, Greek, and Syrian, about him, translated a number of important foreign works Binboa Dagħ was captured by the Scythians in 1154, but retaken two years later by Stephen, the brother of the Armenian King Thorus II

The Kaimakam of Shahr showed me hospitality for the night, and at an early hour the following morning, having been provided with fresh horses and a guide, I set off in a south westerly direction, my objective being the erstwhile Armenian stronghold of Hadjin, about 25 miles distant, which unquestionably lay within the confines of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom The araba road from Shahr closely follows the right bank of the Sarus, entering the fertile Maghra region and passing a number of Avshar villages until Khasta Khanch, lying on the left bank, is reached, where the river is spanned by a ramshackle bridge I did not enter the village, for there seemed no point in courting disaster, since nothing more substantial than a clock work train could have crossed in safety! (From my guide I gathered that the place once formed a base for operations by the Turks against the Armenians in the wild Hadjin district)

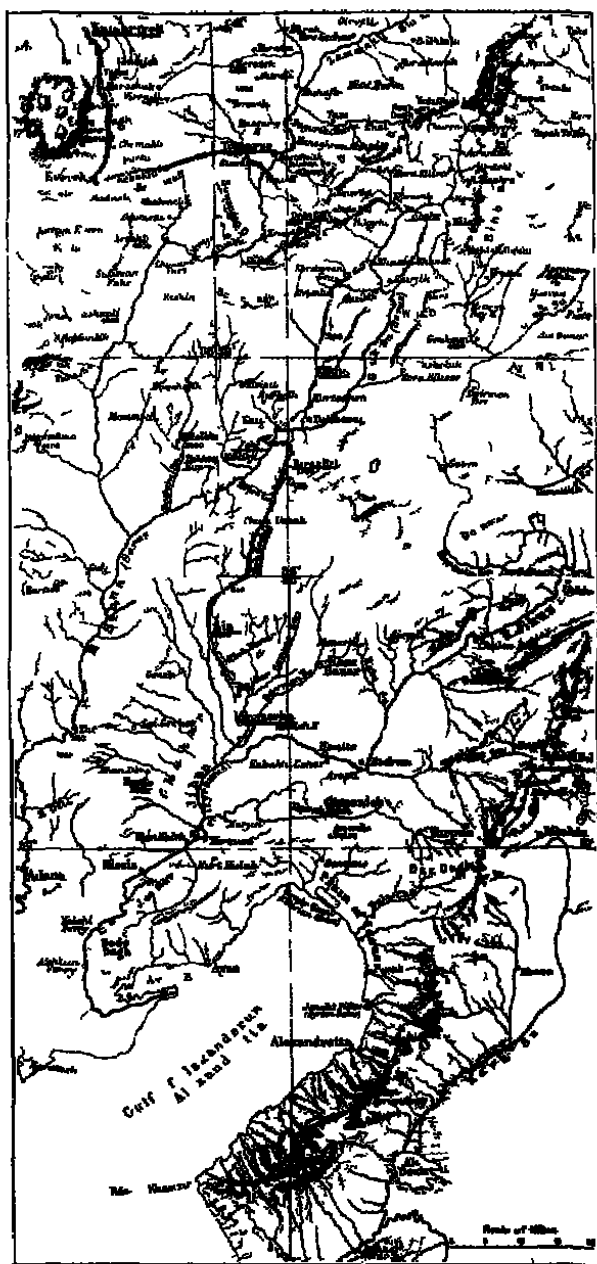
Following a *bridle path which skirts the western slope of Firat Dagħ*, I ultimately reached the araba road from Cæsarea via Tomarza to the south, and here the scenery assumed an aspect of impressive grandeur, my route now lying between the great mountainous walls of the Taurus proper towering above me upon either side A precipitous rocky descent of some 1,300 feet leading to the bed of a ravine presently confronts the traveller, through which flows the Hadjin Su, the head waters of the stream being nearby As I followed its course southwards a terrific storm burst upon us which had been gathering in the mountains for some time previously and had increased in intensity as I approached Hadjin itself Yet cold and wet though I may have been, I welcomed, as wholly appropriate to the nature of my surroundings, the great thunderclaps which seemed to shake the very mountains encircling the ancient stronghold, as if indeed the vials of the wrath of heaven were about to be emptied upon this wild and desolate spot, the darkening scene being alone illuminated by the vivid flashes of lightning throwing into bold relief the ruined tower and walls which dominate the Rock of Hadjin

Ever since its downfall there have existed, almost to our very day, scattered remnants of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom within the fastnesses of the Taurus Mountains, so inaccessibly

located were these strongholds that a state of virtual independence was maintained under chiefs who were direct descendants of the princes of their mediæval realm. Paying little or no tribute to the government, enjoying complete religious freedom under their own bishops, these stern, rude, yet warlike and fearless survivors of a vanquished dynasty for long proved a thorn in the flesh of the *Osmanlı Sultans*. Most notable historically were the inhabitants of Hadjin and their even more famous brethren of Zeitun lying across the mountains some 40 miles eastwards, and fully dealt with by Franz Werfel in his well known book 'The Forty Days,' wherein are so graphically described the Armenian deportations of 1916.

I spent a somewhat disturbed night beneath the roof of the Kaimakam of the adjoining hamlet of Saambeyli, which has only existed since 1928, previously the region was deserted since the time when the Armenians were finally evicted between 1920 and 1921. It was built upon the site of the little fourteenth-century town of Hadjin, of which not a vestige of a house remains. In the morning I ascended the Rock which once overlooked the town from a height of about 400 feet. A veritable hurricane was blowing, dense clouds and mist precluding any attempt at photography. The ruins to be seen along the summit bear grim testimony to the bitter fighting which took place before the last survivors of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom were finally dislodged. A much battered circular stone tower and remains of three walls of the ancient Armenian castle still stand, which served as a school until 1920, and next to the castle are the four roofless walls of an Armenian (Catholic) church, by the side of which is a smaller Gregorian church in a similar condition, but with an Armenian inscription above the entrance. These ruined churches are probably not more than 50 years old. At the base of the rock and at the entrance to a ravine about half a mile distant to the north still stand the walls of the fourteenth-century Gregorian monastery and church, wherein resided the Bishop of Hadjin, whilst at a similar distance to the south in a rocky hollow there exists a very ancient square stone edifice, once an Armenian public bath. The entire building is only about 15 feet square, so that but few bathers could, presumably, be accommodated, and, by the irony of fate, probably the oldest building to be found in this region, it is in the best state of preservation and still supporting a substantial domed roof, having escaped the wholesale destruction to which the remainder have succumbed.

The only available horses in Saambeyli being in an unfit condition to be ridden, I was able, after some delay, to secure a precarious seat on a bullock cart, which had arrived from Cæsarea en route for Kozan, which lies at the south of the pass, and for a



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE TAUROS MOUNTAIN
IN THE ARVIANIAN CILICIAN KINGDOM BY E. H. KING

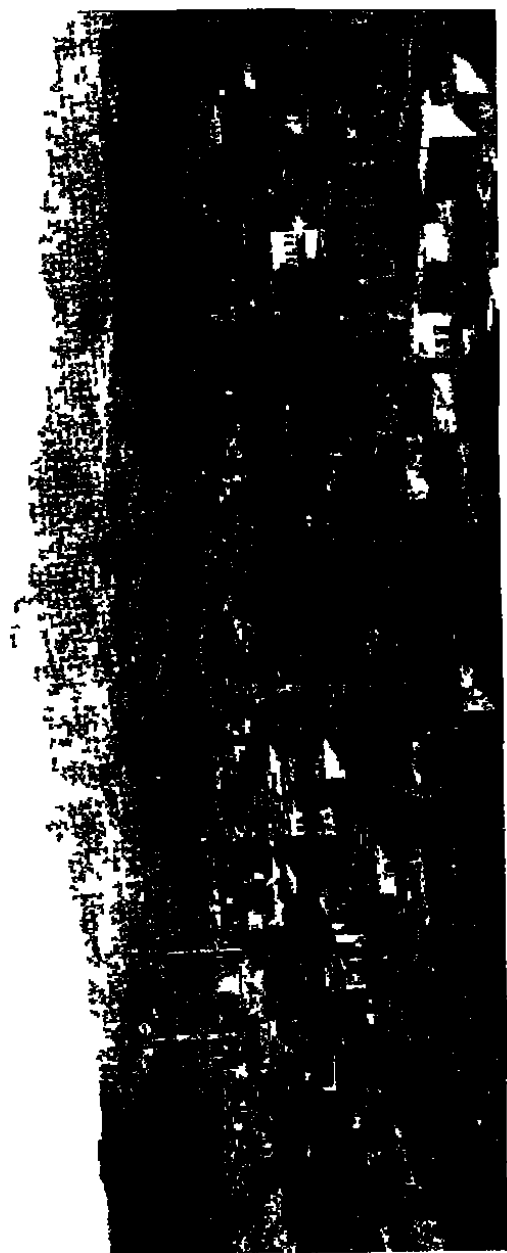


FIG. 1.—(1) SARI A CENERAL VIEW SHOWING MOINI ERIEUS (ANCIENT MONS ANGELUS) IN THE BACKGROUND



FIG. 3.—CASTLE OF IPE SITUATED IN THE TALUS MOUNTAINS BETWEEN
HADJIN AND SIS

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100



FIG. 1.—FORTRESS ROCK OF SIS

Camera facing left, camera tilted along horizontal axis and hinged with revolving motion
wall at foot of rock to the right



FIG. 5.—ANAKAR/A—THE TOWER WITHIN THE SECOND ENCLOSURE

Height 11 m. Width 5 m. Chamber 5 m.

Arch 10 m.

10 m.

consideration the drover was prepared to deposit me, together with my camp-bed, at Feké, which lay about 7 miles westward of the Chaussée at a point about 12 miles south of Hadjin. Nothing could exceed the exquisite beauty of this route as we followed the banks of the Hadjin Su southward. Very lovely is this stream, clear as crystal, now roaring in rapid torrent, now foaming in cascades over great masses of rock, now swirling round roots of gnarled and aged tree-trunks, now sleeping in placid pools. As I pursued my journey the clouds dispersed, the sun blazed forth, and with every bend of the pass a fresh vista of mountain scenery, each seemingly more enchanting than the last, opened out before me. Close to the village of Humethi a turning westward leads through a precipitous ravine to the castle of Feké (Fig. 3) and the hamlet of that name lying at the base of the rock upon which it stands. Feké Castle is situated at an altitude of 4,200 feet, or about 1,000 feet higher than Hadjin, to which, in appearance, it is similar, although in better preservation, due, of course, to the fact that it was never subjected to the modern bombardment which reduced the latter to its present ruinous condition. It is of considerably earlier date than that of Hadjin since it was within its walls that King Leon I. and his son Thoros sought shelter in 1137, after the defeat of their armies by the Greeks at Anavarza in the Cilician Plains to the south, as will be presently related. Unfortunately no further historical facts appear to have been handed down regarding this remote yet romantically situated Armenian fortress. To my intense disappointment the inhabitants of the cluster of houses at the base of the rock displayed abysmal ignorance on the subject beyond the somewhat obvious observation that it was "chok eski" (very ancient)!

I did succeed in discovering an Armenian inscription within the castle walls, but it was so obliterated and defaced as to be quite indecipherable.

The sole accommodation obtainable in Feké was of so uninviting a character that, accompanied by the Mukhtar, I set off in the direction of a Yuruk "yaula" about half a mile distant, claiming hospitality for the night. I was, as usual, most kindly received, and appeared to have struck upon a particularly prosperous community judging by the size of the flocks and the jewellery displayed by the women who were attired in exceptionally vividly coloured costumes surmounted by their picturesque headdress, a tall square *coiffe* of white muslin or cotton, the ends being wrapped under the chin.

I had hoped to secure horses at Feké, but since none were then available and I might have been delayed indefinitely, I decided to resume my journey southward by the bullock cart, to which I had become more or less inured! Having regained the Chaussée by

an alternative route, we now commenced the steep ascent from an altitude of 2,330 feet to the Kiraz Bel Pass, which stands at about 5,100 feet. Despite our somewhat laboured progress, it seemed good to be alive in this silent land of romantic beauty and to inhale the ever-present scent of the verdure carried on the soft mountain air, the pine, ash, oak, plane, oleander, and the myrtle, all serving to clothe the slopes through which my journey lay, whilst from the Kiraz Bel itself soared the snow-clad heights of the loftier peaks of the Taurus.

Descending some 2,000 feet, the open valley of the Tapan Dere lay at my feet, and here I passed a somewhat chilly night at a police post, which provided the sole accommodation available. The following day, travelling always southward through the pass, I would especially mention the Kirkgechid Dere, a valley surrounded by one chaotic, intricate, and lofty mountainous mass. Oh! for the skill of a Turner to depict the exquisite tints ranging through richest purple to the softest and most delicate mauve as at length the shadows fell upon this enchanted scene.

Partly upon the site of the little Turkish town recently renamed Kozan (Fig. 4), which I reached at nightfall, once stood the great city of Sis, which lay, as it were, within the very portals of the Taurus Mountains as approached from the Cilician plains in the south, being situated at the mouth of the pass to Hadjun in the north, which I had just traversed. Its name breathes and enshrines the history of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom both during the days of its prosperity and peace and the darkest days of its sorrow and defeat. Captured by King Thoros II. in 1144 during his sweeping victories over the Greeks, of which I shall write in greater detail when describing the fortress of Anavarza, it remained in a more or less ruinous condition until the accession of Leon II. to the throne in 1185, who, after restoring his capital of Tarsus (captured by his predecessor Reuben II. from the Greeks in 1182), set about the rebuilding of the city of Sis with the utmost magnificence in 1186. Royal palaces existed in both cities, and the seat of government alternated between the two according to the residence of the sovereign until the destruction of Tarsus in 1274, when Sis became the sole capital. Of all the princes whose sceptre swayed the Kingdom Leon II. undoubtedly proved himself to be the wisest, the most beneficent, and the most beloved of his subjects, not one of whom it is said ever appealed to his charity in vain.

Plundered and burnt during the ferocious invasion of the country by the Egyptian hordes in 1266, when the great temple erected by Hethum I. in 1225 was levelled to its foundations, the city rose once again like a phoenix from the ashes during the reign of Hethum's successor Leon III. in 1269, who established

his capital within its walls and whither later, in 1294, the Supreme Patriarchate of Armenia, under Gregory VII, was removed from the ruined city of Hiromela, which lay eastward, south of Marash and upon the western bank of the Euphrates. The city of Sis was blockaded during the combined invasion of the country by Egyptians, Arabs, and Turkomen, under the Egyptian chief Phuntukhtar, in 1274, but being unable to overcome the resolute resistance encountered, this force thereupon marched against Tarsus, which was the principal repository of the royal treasures, and, having plundered it of all its riches, set fire to the Palace and the Church of St. Sophia, returning to Egypt with a large number of its inhabitants who were taken into captivity, Sis, as already stated, now becoming the sole capital.

The final overthrow of the city did not occur until 1374, under the reign of Leon VI, last of the Kings of the Reubenian Dynasty. At this time the country was in the last stages of decrepitude, riven asunder by inner dissensions among the chiefs over the preceding ten years, thus rendering the land an easy prey to the repeated invasions of the Egyptian Mamelukes, who now determined that the name of Cilicia should be finally expurgated from the list of Asiatic Kingdoms. In 1371 sounded the first notes of the death knell of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom, the country being ravaged by the Egyptians with the same ferocity as hitherto, cities being burnt and the produce of the land destroyed so desperate were the straits of the inhabitants due to the resultant famine, that a bushel of corn was sold in the streets of Sis for the price of 500 pieces of silver. In 1374 the Egyptians redoubled their efforts, and under the Sultan Melek El Ashref (an inveterate enemy of the Christians), an enormous force once more descended upon the unhappy Armenians, who were in no condition to offer effective opposition. After withstanding a siege of two months Sis fell to the invaders, who broke open the tombs of the Armenian princes and sacked the city. Leon himself, realizing that his presence in the stricken capital could no longer benefit his suffering subjects, retired, together with Mary, his Queen, Phinna, his daughter, and a number of the chiefs to the Fortress of Capan, situated at a height of about 1,100 ft. on a rocky eminence northwest of the city, and whither all the royal treasure had previously been transported. Here he was blockaded by the Egyptians for nine months, at the end of which time his provisions were exhausted. On the advice of his followers the King then sent proposals to the Egyptian general, offering to surrender provided the lives of the garrison were spared, which being promised on oath, he issued from the fortress and gave himself up. Capan was thereupon plundered and the whole of the royal family transported in fetters to Cairo in the year 1375, which year records the

final overthrow of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom and the decline of the Reubenian Dynasty. The Egyptian Sultan offered to set his distinguished captives at liberty if they renounced their religion, which, however, they steadfastly refused to do, and were consequently imprisoned for seven years when, at the instance of King Juan of Spain, who had sent ambassadors with costly presents to the Sultan, their release was secured in the year 1382, they then proceeded to Jerusalem to offer up thanks for their liberation. Leaving his family in the Holy City, the King first visited the Pope, Urban VI, at Rome, with whom he had fostered most friendly relations during his reign, subsequently travelling to Spain, where he was received with great honour by his liberator.

At this time war broke out between France and England, and at the instance of the Pope, who sought to act as mediator, the exiled Armenian monarch visited the Kings of both countries who, however, displayed no interest in His Holiness's pacific proposals, nor were they inclined to assist the King in his hoped for restoration to his throne. In the year 1393 Leon died in Paris, where his remains were interred in a magnificent tomb in the Convent of the Celestines, his wife and daughter speedily following him to the grave.

What of the city of Sis in the year of grace 1936? Little enough did I find to remind me of its erstwhile splendour, and that little will be speedily diminished. Only the north, south, and east walls remain of the Cathedral, the pride of its founder, Leon II by whom it was built in 1200, having been subsequently enlarged by his successors, and it is astounding to find even the shell still standing of one of the earliest Armenian churches in the city, the greater part of which was swallowed up in the subsequent holocaust of destruction. It was within these hallowed walls that Queen Zabel, dragged from the convent whither she had retired upon the death of her consort, Philip of Antioch, was united to Hethum I in 1223, here, too, was anointed and crowned Leon IV, amidst great rejoicing in 1305, as also his successors in 1320 and 1365. Where once great gatherings of Armenian clergy assembled and where even within living memory the voice of priest and chorister echoed through its lofty arches, today cattle peacefully and placidly browse within its deserted aisles. The reader will naturally conclude that the ruined state of the building must be attributed to the ravages of time, yet this is by no means the case. In the year 1440, owing to the impoverished state of the Patriarchate and the ruinous condition of the city of Sis, the seat of the spiritual government of the Armenian Church was removed by popular consent to the ancient Monastery of Echmiadzin at Vagarshapat in the modern Soviet Republic of Armenia, which I described in some detail in my former article in the *ASIATIC*

REVIEW and where it has remained to this day The Catholikos or Patriarch of Sis and his clergy, however, vigorously opposed the transfer and declined obedience to the Patriarchate of Echmiadzin, so that a state of enmity arose between the two churches which was only finally quelled in the year 1901 by the due submission of the former Up to the year 1916 Sis still constituted the seat of a Patriarch (today living in Beyrout), who, of course, together with the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Akthamar (an island on Lake Van in eastern Anatolia) owed obedience to the Supreme Catholikos at Echmiadzin No Armenian population has naturally existed in this region since the deportations, and within the last few years the Turkish villagers of Kozan have been engaged in the demolition of the old Patriarchal Palace close to the Cathedral, which has all but entirely disappeared, and they are now making substantial inroads on the latter building, the old stones being used to erect fresh houses in the valley below To the Turks such buildings naturally possess no historical importance, but it is certain that until they were driven from their monastic domain the clergy in Sis had admirably restored and preserved this relic of the city's bygone splendour The interior of the building consists of a large central apse and two side aisles containing chapels dedicated to St Peter and St Paul respectively, in each of which are to be seen quaint frescoes depicting Mount Ararat or Massis, the sacred emblem of the Armenian race, whilst in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, on the north side, are to be found pictures of the monastery itself A winding stair leading to the roof may still be ascended, otherwise this brief description of the old shell is today complete Vanished with its late occupants are the ancient marble coronation chair of the Armenian Kings, the two great bronze candlesticks which once stood at the base of the altar steps and the fine old early Armenian manuscripts which the monastery housed

I spent hours clambering (at the imminent risk of broken limbs!) amidst the ruined walls, turrets, and arches of Leon II's castle on the Fortress Rock of Sis, which dominated the city The runs of the Fortress touch the summit in several places, and a high enclosing wall follows the undulations of the surface The ascent and descent proved most trying, since this rugged crag is precipitous from almost every angle, small wonder that it frequently proved impregnable! Originally a Saracen stronghold in the early eighth century inscriptions are to be seen in both Arabic and Armenian

Having secured horses in Kozan, and accompanied by the Kaimakam himself, I soon left behind me the grandeur and exquisite beauty of the Taurus range, emerging into the torrid heat of the Cilician plains

The approach to Sis from the plains, as I turned to view it, is one of most romantic beauty, surmounted by the Fortress Rock, which, in turn, is backed by a broken fringe of mountains of the deepest purple tint, and I resumed my journey with some regret, notwithstanding the squalor of the Hotel Kozan, within whose gloomy portals I had lodged.

I could now dimly discern through the haze on the horizon the faint outline of my next objective, the massive Fortress Rock of Anavarza, lying some 20 miles distant in a southerly direction. The fertile Cilician plains dividing the great wall of the Taurus from the Mediterranean seaboard are watered by the Rivers Sihun and Jihun, which rise in the uplands of Cappadocia beyond the mountains through which they force their way southwards, and as I journeyed through these regions it was vividly brought home to me how severely the inhabitants must be, and indeed are handicapped by the widespread prevalence of malaria. The reason is not far to seek, since with the passing of the centuries the courses of these rivers have changed to a most marked extent with the resultant formation of stagnant pools and marshy land which, of course, provide the ideal conditions conducive to this devastating disease. Traces of the main aqueduct (one of three) which once carried the water supply from the mountains in the north across the plains to the Fortress of Anavarza may still be observed, particularly in its immediate vicinity, where 32 arches are in a remarkable state of preservation.

If Anatolia should ever seek to entice the tourist to her shores, what glowing posters might not adorn the walls and windows of our Travel Bureaux portraying the stern majesty of Anavarza together with appropriately garbed and armed warriors manning its grim ramparts, the whole surmounted by alluring catch phrases designed to fill the charabancs to overflowing! If the reader will visualize a great isolated ridge of rock some two miles in length rising from the level plain to a height of over 500 ft., and culminating in the towers and battlements of the ancient citadel, he or she will have gained a fairly accurate impression of the spectacle which greets the traveller's gaze. To this brief description, which will be amplified anon, should be added a confused, overgrown, and shapeless mass of ruins lying at the base, which once constituted the city of Anazarba. The sole remains meriting description beyond the aqueduct already referred to are the fine old triple Arch of Triumph (heaven alone knows how this has survived!) and the inner fortress wall, in very good preservation, which was separated by a ditch (scarcely discernible and choked with rubble) from the now completely ruined outer wall.

In Roman times, at a date which is not recorded, fortifications

were erected upon this great rocky eminence and a town was constructed at its base, moreover a town greatly favoured by both the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius Caesar, from whom it received the names of *Cæsarea ad Anazarbum* and the *Metropolis of Cæsarea Secundum*. Other Roman rock fortresses existed in these regions, though none could compare in dimensions or importance with Anavarza and the erstwhile city of Anazarba, which became one of the most flourishing in Cilicia, not only under the Roman Empire but also, later, under that of Byzantium, when, during the reign of the Emperor Justin in 525, it was entirely rebuilt and renamed Justinopolis. The city fell to Haroun-el Raschid in 802, being later recaptured by the Greeks, who retained it until the year 1100, when it entered into the possession of the Armenians under King Thorus I, and it is now necessary to transport the reader back to events which occurred in the earlier days of the annals of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom.

The citadel of Anavarza may be said to have constituted the earliest capital, since Reuben I was mainly occupied in gathering followers for his cause, and his son Constantine during his short reign of five years was also similarly engaged, but under the warlike Thorus a definite seat of government was established and the entire fortifications, which had been largely destroyed by a succession of earthquakes both before and since the time of Justin, were now completely rebuilt, and the remains existing today are entirely of Armenian origin. Please mark that I am referring to the Citadel of Anavarza as distinct from the City of Anazarba, or Justinopolis, since I am convinced from the condition of the latter, as already described, that the Armenians only occupied the former and very naturally contented themselves with merely erecting the strong fortress wall around the ruined city for purely defensive purposes against attack upon the citadel itself. (This is not a matter of conjecture but a commonsense deduction.)

Thorus I died in the year 1123 after a reign of 23 years and was succeeded by his brother, Leon I, who, by his successful incursions westward into the Greek dominions in Isauria, at length brought down upon himself the fury of the Byzantine Empire, under the Emperor Johannes Porphyrogenitus, who, in 1137, invaded Cilicia with an enormous force, of which a large detachment marched against the capital itself. On the approach of the Greek forces the Armenians sallied forth and completely overthrew them, so that the Emperor then brought all his army to bear and subjected Anavarza to a siege of 37 days, during which time the warlike and undaunted inhabitants hurled down red-hot iron and stones upon the battering engines of the insurgents, which they destroyed and which had to be replaced by others covered with clay. Eventually the Greeks charged and a terrible

conflict ensued, the Armenians defending every inch of the ground, women joining in the fray and flinging from the house-tops furniture, cooking utensils, and every conceivable missile upon which they could lay their hands. At last, overpowered by superior numbers, and realizing that otherwise their capture was inevitable, the inhabitants emerged from the citadel, and, cutting their way through the ranks of the insurgents, left the capital. Leon and his son Thorus (later King Thorus II) were ultimately captured at the Castle of Feké,* in the heart of the Taurus mountains, and transported to Constantinople, Cilicia then becoming temporarily occupied by the Greeks. Whilst in confinement Thorus experienced a remarkable dream, which he later recounted to his father. 'I thought,' said he, 'that a man of most glorious appearance entered our prison and presented me with a loaf on which was a fish. You asked me for it, and on my giving it to you you did not eat of it.' "My son," replied the king, 'the time will arrive, as the loaf indicates, when thou shalt recover all the country which I have lost, and as the fish represents, thou shalt become powerful at sea. I partook not of the gifts, therefore I shall not see the accomplishment of these things.' The royal captive's interpretation of his son's dream proved correct. His death occurred within a year and Thorus, in the following year, succeeded in effecting his escape from Constantinople disguised as a merchant, whence he sailed for Antioch, subsequently journeying into the Taurus mountains, where he disclosed his identity to an Armenian priest, with whom he remained in concealment.

At this time many Armenians had sought refuge in the mountains from the persecution of the Greeks, from whose tyranny they longed to free themselves. When it became known that the son of Leon was amongst them they rallied round him and soon procured for him an army of 10,000 men, at the head of which the greatest success attended his exploits. Anavarza was retaken together with the cities of Adana, Sis, Areuzberd, and Barzberd, and thus Thorus succeeded in establishing himself upon the throne of his forefathers in the year 1144.

Anavarza, as hitherto, constituted the capital of the Armenian

* Since the above was written as a result of further research, I have identified Feké Castle as being unquestionably synonymous with the Armenian Castle of Vahkah which was captured from the Greeks by Constantine I in the year 1095. Before the King and his son were delivered up to the Greeks, as above described it appears that a challenge was issued from the summit of the castle walls by one of the Armenian chiefs, possessed of great bodily strength daring the insurgents to induce one of their number to engage him in single combat. One, Eustratus, accepted the challenge and a bitter contest ensued before the gates of the fortress the Armenian chief being ultimately worsted and the castle thereupon being invested. It was recaptured by the Armenians under King Thorus II in the year 1144.

Cilician Kingdom until the year 1184, when the aqueducts broke and the surroundings became unhealthy, in consequence of which the capital then alternated between Tarsus and Sis, as mentioned above

I was able to procure a guide in the person of an inhabitant of a nearby hamlet, and together we turned our horses towards a ravine leading to the Citadel itself, which winds upwards through great fallen blocks of the bluish rock of which the ridge is composed. After emerging from this ravine we now entered upon a veritable sea of rock covered with immense sarcophagi all broken and displaced, hurled hither and thither by those convulsions of nature which have so often shaken the ancient fortress

The only appropriate mount under these conditions would be an ibex or a chamois, and after a number of perilous stumbles I dismounted and bade my guide tether the horses. We now proceeded on foot with the fierce heat of a midsummer Cilician sun beating relentlessly down upon us, and shortly reached the southern wall of the Citadel (or outer wall of the first enceinte) constructed (as are the remainder of the fortifications) of yellow limestone protected by four circular flanking towers and stretching across the full width of the rock. A battlemented way reached by steps within connects these towers, the whole being in very fair preservation. The entrance to the Citadel is on the left of the wall as one approached from the south and is partly choked up with rubble. On passing through into the first enceinte I was immediately confronted by the little Royal Church of St Zoravark, erected, along with the fortifications, by Thorus I in 1100, and bearing a long Armenian inscription beneath the eaves, and which once encircled the building, the north side of which has, however, now collapsed. Square in form, its architecture is of the simplest, and beyond a few very imperfect frescoes there is little to be observed within, yet it held for me the greatest interest since beneath the fallen masonry lie buried the monarchs of the Reubenian Dynasty, who died during the period when Anavarza constituted their capital (1100-1184), with the exception of Leon I, whose death occurred in captivity, and Mleh, who was slain by his own soldiers on account of his cruelty and vices. I was profoundly thankful for the shade afforded by the part of the roof which still remains intact beneath which to shelter for a time from the sun, whilst lizards sprang in and out amongst the debris (I was also warned against a particularly poisonous species of snake infesting the ruins, which happily, however, failed to materialize). The first and second enceintes are divided by the remains of a square tower of beautiful masonry high up on the side of which is to be seen a stone bearing a long Armenian inscription by Thorus I and in olden days it was, of course, a per

fectly simple matter to pass to and fro by a drawbridge which once spanned a fosse, at the base of which the rock has been hewn to a sharp angle like the high pitched roof of a house. Today, without the aid of the drawbridge, to reach the second enceinte is a most perilous undertaking to attempt. In the first place the fosse would have to be crossed, and even then there is no direct access save by a jagged path at the base of a wall not more than a foot wide, one false step on which would entail inevitable destruction down the precipice hundreds of feet below. Such antics, doubtless mere 'child's play' to a steeplejack or a tight rope walker, to a common-or-garden traveller, moreover one whose feet are commensurate in size with a height of 6 ft 5 inches, failed to make any appeal whatsoever! I do not say I would *not* have made the attempt had it not been for the fact that a quite sufficiently hazardous alternative method of attaining the second enceinte from the eastern side of the rock existed which, whilst affording me the additional interest of examining this angle of the Citadel, did not involve the immediate peril of the former means of access and I unhesitatingly adopted it! I deferred making this second ascent until later in the day when the heat had to some extent subsided. I found the eastern rampart to be in a considerably poorer state of preservation than that protecting the southern approach to the Citadel, and this is, of course, probably due to the fact that the most severe fighting took place upon this side, but at the same time the loopholed wall appears to have suffered particularly severely during the great earthquakes which convulsed the fortress and has sunk to a marked angle in consequence.

Within the second enceinte rises the keep of the fortress itself (Fig 5), to the south of which is a battlemented wall similar to that which I had encountered before entering the first enceinte. The east wall and part of a tower in the ruined north wall, together with a structure which may possibly have been the royal residence, constitute the sole remains of the rectangular fort or inner stronghold of the fortress. A long Armenian inscription is to be seen on the upper part of this latter building, which was the only one I observed in the second enceinte. Just outside the north wall of the fort, and connected with it is a fine old squat round tower, which, to my mind, is the best preserved piece of masonry in the whole fortress, and which, I should say, will retain its pristine grandeur until the Day of Judgment! It may well have formed part of the original keep, but this is pure surmise on my part, for there are no neat little guide books sold at a turnstile, together with picture postcards of the ruins, and heaven forbid the advent of such to this remote old fortress, grim and silent guardian of its Royal Dead.

Upon descending from the Citadel I passed the night at the

nearby hamlet where I had sought my guide, reposing in a form of open air sleeping place, having two platforms erected within a framework of stout poles and surmounted by a sloping roof thatched with rushes, which are in common use in countries experiencing intense heat. The following day, having bidden a grateful farewell to the Kaimakam of Kozan, I continued my journey southwards with fresh horses and another guide towards the village of Missis, once the ancient town of Mopsuestia, and situated upon the banks of the River Jihun, some 25-30 miles distant.

It proved a long and tiring ride of some eight hours' duration in the intense heat and without a particle of shade to protect us or our flagging horses from the sun's scorching rays, and it was with a feeling of intense relief that I reached my destination on the evening of June 24. From Missis it was possible to telephone to Adana, whence a car was despatched in which I sped towards the (comparative!) comfort of the Yenü Hotel.

Of the early history of Mopsuestia nothing is known, nor does it figure prominently in the annals of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom. Willibrand, canon of Oldenburg, visited this region in the thirteenth century, and described the town as being of imposing aspect, having ramparts flanked by towers even then in a ruinous condition. It was at that time subject to King Leon II, although the nearby Castle of Missis was manned by a Byzantine garrison, and it frequently changed hands during the desultory warfare still waged between the Armenians and the Greeks, and later, during the Egyptian invasions. The modern village is a miserable place, devoid of interest, except for an ancient mill picturesquely situated on the bank of the Jihun, said to have stood for over 1,000 years, and serving its original purpose to this day.

At this point I may be said to have achieved the object of the journey, which I have attempted to describe.

I had travelled as a stranger in a strange land—moreover, a land peopled, as I fancied, by the ghosts of that little mediæval realm now long since passed away, yet the beauty of the scene remains, for the same great mountains, within the fastnesses of which once dwelt those romantic warriors of old, still frown down in unchanging majesty upon the lonely wayfarer today, and it is the work of man's hand alone that has perished or decayed.

Over a total distance of approximately 200 miles I had covered some 160 miles without the assistance of an interpreter and largely through a wild mountainous region, where apparently no Englishman had hitherto been seen within living memory. I mention this fact simply and solely in order that I may pay my tribute to the hospitality, guidance and help afforded me by the Vali at

Cæsarea itself and by the Kaïmakams, Yuruk tribal headmen, and others, who rendered the accomplishment of this short journey possible. Although I paid modest sums for the necessary transport and to my guides, at no time was I permitted to pay one single piastre for the food and shelter with which I was provided, except at the Khan of Kozan. My knowledge of the language was limited to little more than the bare essentials of life plus a small handbook of phrases, and it speaks volumes for the intelligence of my hosts that I contrived to make myself understood at all! Later in the year I am anxious to traverse the regions of the ancient Armenian Kingdom proper, which lay between the town of Erzerum and Lake Van, possibly I may continue my journey as far as the Persian Lake Urumia, which once formed a part of the Armenian dominions of old, and upon my return I shall hope to be permitted to furnish an account of these travels in a future article in the ASIATIC REVIEW.

THE MODERNIZATION OF HYDERABAD

By B S TOWNROE, J F, HON A R I B A

(Mayor of Hampstead 1934-36)

THE living conditions of the citizens of Hyderabad have been improved in many directions since the present Nizam ascended the throne in 1911. His Exalted Highness has indeed amply fulfilled the promise which he made in a speech at the threshold of his career, when he pledged himself to be a beneficent ruler of his people.

In the Address which was presented to the Nizam during the course of the celebrations of the Silver Jubilee of his reign last February, made on behalf of 14 million subjects, irrespective of nationality, religion, caste or class, grateful recognition was given to the results of his good administration. It was pointed out that under his benign government the people all enjoyed equal rights and whether they were Parsi, Hindu, Muslim or Christian looked upon the Deccan as their own mother country.

The population has increased from the time of the Nizam's accession, when it was 13,400,000. In the earlier years of his reign famine, plague and the Great War accounted for the fall of a million, but in the latest census the population has risen to 14,200,000.

A study of the various official reports and of this Address presented at the Jubilee reveal the extent of the modernization of Hyderabad. Under the Nizam's guidance and encouragement great and far reaching changes have been brought about in the rebuilding of the capital and other towns, in the clearance of slums and the rehousing of the people, in all branches of the social services, in temperance, in every aspect of education both intellectual and physical, in the care of the sick, and above all in the material matters of improved industry and agriculture which enable social reforms to be paid for. Transport facilities and means of communication have been greatly increased, and modern amenities such as telephones, broadcasting and regular air services have been introduced. Throughout these changes the State has endeavoured to retain all that was best in its old institutions, and has achieved a harmonious blending of Eastern culture with Western progressiveness.

Such unprecedented progress in every department of government, followed by reform and improvement in the social and economic conditions of the people, would not have been possible if throughout the whole of the 25 years complete peace had not prevailed in the dominions ruled over by the Nizam. Many

other countries were shaken by the Great War and the economic depression which followed, and their peoples had to suffer drastic economies with heavy taxation and widespread unemployment. Hyderabad, however, has been spared these calamities, and the Jubilee celebrated 25 years of peace and progress.

Another fundamental change which made reform possible was the reorganization of the Government. The responsibility of administration has been entrusted by the Nizam to the President of the Executive Council and the Departmental Ministers. The Government of Hyderabad is strictly constitutional, though not in a democratic sense according to Western ideas. The Nizam is most careful to observe the letter of his self imposed Constitution, and any questions of importance which he originates are always referred to the Executive Council. His hobby is his work, and in matters of State business little escapes his notice, for he deals meticulously with all the business submitted, frequently annotating State documents with his own hand, and referring them back to his Ministers for further elucidation.

In his work he is much assisted by his sons. The Prince of Berar is Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Prince Moazzam Jah Bahadur is President of the City Improvement Board, and the Princess of Berar, a daughter of the ex Sultan of Turkey, has taken an active personal interest in questions of motherhood and child welfare. This co-operation of the Ruler and his family with the heads of the departments has proved to be most fruitful in every field of State and civic activity.

WATER

When the Nizam came to the rulership he found his dominions *gravely suffering from floods and his people lacking the necessity of life—pure water*. A vast irrigation system was inaugurated after the outbreak of serious flooding in 1908, designed to protect the city of Hyderabad from future disasters. There are now two great reservoirs, Osman Sagar and Humayat Sagar, which are a few miles from the capital and which add much to the beauty of the surrounding countryside. The greatest irrigation works of all are those known as the Nizam Sagar, completed at a cost of nearly three million pounds sterling, and which, through its main canal, over 72 miles long, supplies water for an area covering 270,000 acres. This great reservoir, about 100 miles from the city, set among beautiful surroundings, is a favourite resort for holiday makers.

The agricultural peoples in the villages are also being provided with reliable water supplies. The Public Works Department is steadily sweeping away old fashioned water cisterns and obsolete

drainage plants and providing efficient sanitation and drainage Sewage plants on modern lines, as well as waterworks, have already been completed in Jalna, Raichur and Latur. The administration are now overhauling the out-of-date cisterns at Nanded and Nizamabad, and a water supply is being provided for Warangal.

When it is remembered that in Great Britain, in spite of centuries of local government, disastrous floods took place in East Anglia during the last winter, while only a few years ago many English villages were suffering from serious drought, and at the present time the Ministry of Health are being compelled to give increasing attention to water supply in rural areas, the extent of the progress made in this respect in Hyderabad must be all the more appreciated.

At the time of the Nizam's accession the work of the Irrigation Department was, generally speaking, limited to keeping the old tanks in a good state of repair. Today sixteen large works of irrigation have been completed, and those already mentioned are numbered among the most famous in British India. The old tanks of Lakh Wan Ram, Ramappa, Pakhal and Pocharam have been renewed, and in this way 300,000 acres of land have been made available for cultivation. Fifteen hundred wells in the Raichur district and eight hundred wells in the Gulbarga district have either been sunk or thoroughly repaired. In the city of Hyderabad itself and in Secunderabad and the surrounding suburbs the citizens have an abundant quantity of good drinking water. In other towns a plentiful supply of filtered water has been made available. Water for drinking, washing and for cleansing purposes is recognized to be one of the essential needs of a civilized state. In this respect, as in many others, Hyderabad has given a lead not only to British India, but to many other countries of the world.

EDUCATION

Another fundamental reform which has been carried out by the present Nizam is in the world of education. It is, indeed, of little use to provide clean water if national habits are dirty and the people are not raised to higher standards of living. Accordingly the advances made in all branches of education, intellectual and physical, have been of the utmost importance in making the social reforms practicable. The Nizam has paid particular attention to the Department of Public Instruction and educational progress, from the University at the top to elementary schools at the bottom.

Osmania University can with truth be said to be the creation of Sir Akbar Hydari, who attended the Coronation service on

May 12 in his capacity of President of the Executive Council of the Nizam, succeeding in this appointment the former Hindu President, Maharajah Sir Kishen Prasad, G C I E

Architecturally the University adds much to the beauty of the city, uniting as it does the best features of Muslim and Hindu architecture with the latest ideas of educational requirements. The building of the various constituent colleges is not yet completed, but the works at present in progress promise that the final result will be effective and beautiful. The Senate House, the Library, the Museum, and the Colleges of Science, Arts, Law, Agriculture and Engineering have all been laid out. Besides these it is proposed to construct a botanical garden, a swimming bath, a stadium and gymnasium. Already most of the roads and avenues leading to the different buildings have been completed.

Sir Akbar, since its foundation, has been the inspiration and guiding spirit of Osmania University, where a very notable departure from tradition has been introduced by giving teaching in the vernacular. The University and its Bureau of Translation have in fact revolutionized collegiate education in India. There has been demonstrated in a practical manner the use of the vernacular, and it is little wonder that other universities, not only in British India, but in Europe and Asia, are watching with interest the developments of the system. In the words of a recent report,

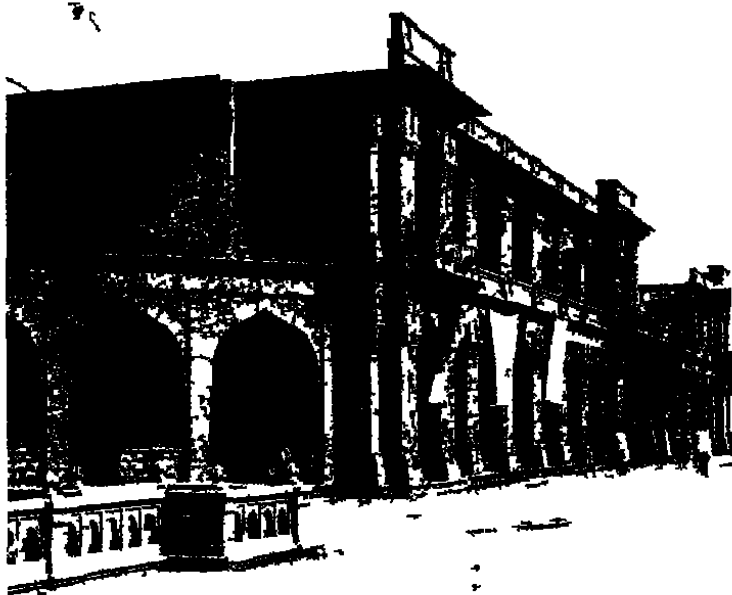
It is hoped that the Osmania University will, by bringing about a happy and firm blending of the Hindu and the Mogul cultures with the culture of the West, remind us of the educational joy of Cordova and Bagdad.

Primary and secondary education generally has developed. When the Nizam succeeded in 1911 there were in Hyderabad about 100 schools and 66,000 scholars. Now there are over 4,000 schools and over 300,000 scholars. Facilities for almost every type of higher education, for girls as well as for boys, are being provided within the State itself. Special tribute ought to be given to the work of the Osmania Central Technical Institute, the Jagirdars College, the Asafia Library, the Darat ul Maarid and the Madras-ul Nizamiah.

There has recently been established a Board of Secondary Education, and schemes are at present under consideration for establishing universal and compulsory elementary education in all parts of the State. The difficult problem of the education of the depressed classes is receiving special consideration.

The Board are also endeavouring to ensure that the educational facilities now made available may be used in the right way. They recognize the danger of ever increasing numbers of students going in for the type of higher education which will qualify them only for Government clerkships: the number is limited. Students are

PLATE



GRANITE STONE ARCADE IN THE CITY
OF HYDRABAD

C. 1. 1

PLATE

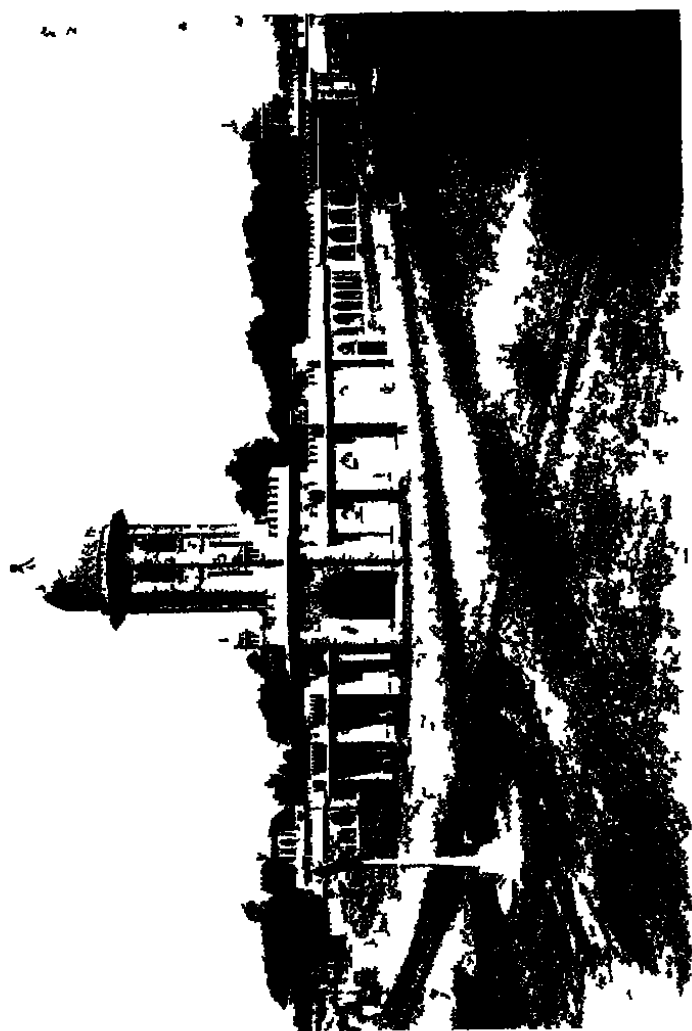


PAVILION IN CHILDREN'S PARK HYDRABAD

J. M. 1 (B) 1. 1

C. 1

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MOAZZAM JAHU MARI I HYDERABAD

6. 10. 1911



PLATE IV



encouraged to specialize in the branches of study in which trained minds are most urgently required. In the words of Sir Akbar Hydari, "Admittedly as India stands today her need is for trained agriculturists rather than Government clerks, for trained business men rather than clerks, trained engineers, doctors, manufacturers, artists, craftsmen, blacksmiths, weavers, potters, almost anything rather than clerks, because already the supply of trained, or at any rate qualified, clerks is enormously in excess of the demand, while the productive work of the country is largely in untrained and therefore relatively inefficient hands."

The necessity of a well trained mind in a healthy body is not forgotten by those who are advising the Nizam in educational matters. The Department of Public Instruction has done a great deal to encourage both Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and physical education in its broadest sense is also being encouraged. The open-air cult is becoming more and more popular in Hyderabad, and a fuller recognition of what is described in Lavengro, 'There's night and day, brother, both sweet things, sun, moon and stars, brother, all sweet things.' In short, the aim behind the Board in Hyderabad is that the right education of the mind and body is indivisible, and unless the body is trained to health the education of mind and personality cannot but be incomplete.

AGRICULTURE

There is a danger in writing of such a State as Hyderabad, which is the largest Indian State, with a population of over 14 millions—a denser population than Spain or Ireland—of paying too much attention to the capital and overlooking the fact that the majority of the people are agricultural. Actually about half a million people are town dwellers and the rest live in villages. Agricultural work of one kind or another is the main occupation of the people, and the fertile nature of the land makes it possible to grow with success large varieties of crops, including rice, wheat, cotton and castor seed. There has, however, been severe agricultural depression in the past few years, and one is glad to learn that the collection of land revenue in the affected areas has been either wholly dropped or suspended. Sir Akbar Hydari, during the years that he was Finance Minister, did everything in his power to help the agriculturists by remissions of land revenue and reductions in customs duties. Fortunately the State is by far the most prosperous in India, and thanks to the financial statesmanship of Sir Akbar the welfare of the peasants and their families, who constitute the vast majority of the population, has been cared for.

Generous grants were spent on famine relief works. In order
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to safeguard land transactions, rules and regulations were passed providing for the maintenance of proper records of rights and for the transfer of land. Octroi duty has been abolished and *ad valorem* duties have been substituted for *per capita* duties.

One of the most difficult sociological problems in the country districts of Hyderabad is the heavy debts owed by many of the small farmers and agricultural workers. Already large sums from public funds have been lent to Jagirdars with a view to liquidating the present load of indebtedness in the hope that in the future they may be able to carry on their rural tasks contentedly. The peasants are being taught the use of modern machinery and of chemical manures. The men working on the land have been helped to introduce improved methods of cultivation by means of special loans and through credit facilities provided by Co-operative Societies. In the last few years the number of these Co-operative Societies has increased to 2,000, while their working capital is well over one million pounds.

Agricultural research has not been neglected. The Department of Agriculture has collaborated with the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and the Indian Central Cotton Committee in technical investigations. The model and State-aided farms all over the country show what can be done. The Department arranges for cattle and poultry shows in various centres. In order that the farmers may have special facilities to sell their products, marketing arrangements have been organized and a Marketing Officer appointed. In the rural districts markets are supervised so that people may be able to buy produce at reasonable prices.

INDUSTRY

On similar lines to the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Industry and Commerce is stimulating advance and guiding development. Many of the natives make cloth by hand in their own homes, and the Cottage Industries Institute is doing much to improve the quality of this cloth, and is helping the home workers to sell the goods when made. While on the one hand the old industries of the country are being carefully preserved new industries are being encouraged. The indigenous industries include inlaid metal work and gold lace work, and the manufacture of Warangal carpets, which are in great demand all over the country. In recent years weaving mills and a cement and a match factory have been established, and a sugar factory is about to be opened. A scheme for a paper mill is under consideration. All this means the introduction of machinery, and special regulations have been issued to supervise these modern factories. The condition of the workers is not forgotten in these industrial plants,

and staffs of inspectors are appointed, who visit the new factories and other places in which modern machinery has been installed in order to safeguard the workers. An Industrial Trust Fund has been established for the purpose of encouraging industry and advancing loans, and the Government offers many facilities in the way of technical advice, scientific research and exemption of duties on specified articles.

COMMUNICATIONS

This modernization of agriculture and industry could not have been accomplished so quickly without an enormous increase in transport facilities. Since the Nizam came to the throne the railway lines of the State have been extended by 729 miles. Their length now is 1,355 miles, apart from that portion which is worked by British Indian railways. Some idea of the prosperity of Hyderabad may be gathered from the fact that no capital from outside the dominion has been employed, and all the expenditure needed has been met by the Government Treasury. The Nizam State Railway was purchased from the former private company on payment of a price of approximately £6 million, and already the return on this capital investment has become a regular source of revenue.

Following the British example the State Railway has established a bus service 4,000 miles long. This has been so successful financially that it is expanding, and it is intended eventually to replace all road services by the railway and motor transport service. The arguments used in favour of this co-ordinated transport administration are the same as those used in the English House of Commons at the time when the proposed London Passenger Transport Board was under consideration. It is argued that standardization and the elimination of competition enable more regular services to be provided at lower rates.

An Aviation Department and a club have been established, and further co-ordination in the future of transport by road, rail and air may be expected. The Princess of Berar recently laid the corner stone of the Hyderabad Airport.

Full recognition has been given, in the Department of Transport, to the necessity of providing good roads for motor transport. Under the auspices of the Local Fund Administration many miles of these roads have been laid, all free from dust, and therefore with obvious benefits to health. During the 25 years of the Nizam's rule over 3,000 miles of road, 21 bridges over large rivers, and 24 smaller bridges over streams have been erected. A future programme of capital expenditure has been approved, providing for the construction of buildings for all Government departments.

and for the completion of roads and bridges, as well as the provision of travellers bunk-houses and rest houses on main arterial roads

Within the capital itself the road improvements have been impressive. Pathergatti, which is the trade centre of the city, has been reconstructed. The illustration (I) gives some idea of the imposing shops and arcades built along the new roads. The widening and dust-proofing of the main road through the Chader Ghat area has been of very great service to the merchants of the city. A shopping centre has been established near the station road.

Of improvements carried out in this direction, one of the most important is the Moazzam Jahi Market. This is a central market and is named after the Prince who is the President of the Board. The building was commenced in May, 1933, and was completed within 20 months. It was opened in 1935. The illustration (II) shows a market, to use the words of the President, 'built on modern principles with something of architectural distinction in its appearance'. The improved roads are doing much to stimulate better business both in towns and country.

ELECTRICITY

The advantages of electricity supply are fully realized by the Nizam and his Government, who have spent a great deal of money in the form of grants towards the development of electricity, which is now widely used in Hyderabad, and is extended to the districts of Aurangabad, Raichur and Nizamabad. Electricity supply both for lighting and heating has also been started at Gulbarga. Plans are under consideration for its further extension. The Government has also given generous grants for the extension of the telephone, which is now available not only in the capital, but at Aurangabad, Jalna, Raichur, Warangal, Bhongir, Jangaon and Alair. The trunk line has been extended from Hyderabad to Warangal, and from Aurangabad to Jalna. A scheme for joining up the trunk line of the dominions with that of British India is now under consideration.

Another proof of the advances made in Hyderabad in recent years is the expansion of the Postal Department. The number of post offices has increased from 386 to 819. The number of articles delivered through the Postal Department has trebled, and that of money orders has gone up from 2,200,000 to nearly 9,000,000. Some idea of the increased prosperity and the thrift of the people may be gathered from the substantial sums deposited in the savings banks.

SOCIAL SERVICES

All this material advance in agriculture, industry, communications and electricity, and such blessings of modern civilization as a reliable postal service, have accelerated the advance in social services. Soon after the Nizam came to the throne, he showed his very live sympathy for his subjects who lived in overcrowded and insanitary conditions in the capital by commanding the formation of the City Improvement Board. As the present President of the Board, Prince Moazzam Jah, second son of the Nizam, stated in the Address at the Jubilee, the work done has resulted in the general improvement of the social, moral and physical conditions of the citizens. The Board has been able to supply many of the wants of a modern city and has effected many improvements.

When Hyderabad was protected from sudden floods by the reservoirs and irrigation schemes, already described, the City Improvement Board proceeded to lay out with gardens and broad boulevards those areas along the banks of the river which were formerly flooded. These gardens have helped to win for Hyderabad her title as the Queen of Indian cities. A spacious park of about 16 acres, in a part of the city where a public open space was urgently needed, has been constructed along the north bank of the river from Musallam Jung Bridge to the Afzul Ganj Bridge. Permission has graciously been given to call it the Osmania Jubilee Park in commemoration of the Nizam's Silver Jubilee. In other places parks have been laid out and children's playing fields established. As the photographs show all this activity has done much to beautify the city.

Following the example set by modern cities in Europe, the City Improvement Board in Hyderabad has for several years past been steadily proceeding with a carefully thought out programme of slum clearance, including the demolition of the worst areas and the replanning of overcrowded and insanitary areas. One area, Feelkhana, situated in the busiest part of the city, was a breeding-place of all types of epidemics. According to the last report three-quarters of the area has been cleared, new roads constructed and sites provided on which the displaced are rehoused. The details show with what financial skill this and other areas have been cleared, and that in several cases profits have been made on the scheme. The picture (III) illustrates a typical slum situated in the south-east corner of the city, which has been opened out by the construction of three new roads. The families in hundreds of cases have been provided with model working-class houses, of various sizes to suit varying families. The illustration (IV), taken from above, gives a good idea of the layout of some of these houses and of the surrounding belt of trees.

Altogether about fourteen slum areas have been improved at a cost of about £500,000. These cover an area of about 700 acres. The new houses are let at rents which vary from 1s 6d to 15s a month. Up to the present about 2,500 houses have been erected in eleven centres, at a cost of £225,000, and in these there are now living under good conditions about 10,000 citizens. Those who know India best consider that the President of the City Improvement Board was fully justified in his claim that Hyderabad is perhaps in advance of other cities of India in having successfully solved the problem of housing the poor.

Another interesting aspect of the far-seeing policy behind these reforms is the way the needs of the middle classes, which in India suffer so greatly from unemployment, have been considered as well as those of the working classes. One of the fundamental criticisms of Government housing policy in Great Britain is that debts amounting to nearly ten million pounds a year have been imposed not only upon the present generation of tax payers, but upon the second and third generations, in order to pay for State-aided dwellings in the main occupied today by the skilled and unskilled artisan class. The City Improvement Board in Hyderabad has done its best to provide for the needs of the middle-class population, and has built roads and drains so as to encourage suburban development.

Naturally, however, the main effort has been to solve the problem of housing the poor, and on this point the Nizam, in reply to the City Improvement Board's address, stated, 'It is a source of satisfaction to me to learn that my capital is in advance of other Indian cities in the way it has dealt with this difficult problem.' He concluded by urging that the Board should devote its time and resources more to the clearance of slums and better housing of the poor than to works that are intended for mere show and display. His own words here quoted, show his personal interest in social problems.

Child welfare work was started in Hyderabad by Maharajah Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur, the late President of the Executive Council, who was particularly generous. In his day and since large sums have been given for the construction of infant welfare centres and the establishment of children's parks well fitted with play appliances. Bathrooms, too, have been provided for women of the depressed classes. The illustration (1A) shows a typical pavilion erected in a children's park.

It must not be thought, however, that the housing reforms have been limited to the capital alone. Among social measures under taken on the inspiration of the Nizam has been the selection in rural districts of certain centres to be converted into model villages. Following the example set in the city, local magnates

in the country have laid out playgrounds with swings and other amusements for children. Town planning in its broadest sense has been widely adopted, and open spaces provided and roads widened. In many towns and villages markets and slaughter houses have been built.

PUBLIC HEALTH

For those citizens who fall by the wayside owing to troubles either of body or mind, there are the magnificent buildings of the Osmania General Hospital in the very centre of Hyderabad, which provides accommodation for more than 1,700 in patients. Throughout the State there are district and local dispensaries, including the civil hospital at Secunderabad. The large medical school has now become a medical college and is part of the Osmania University. A leper asylum, built and supported by State and voluntary assistance working together, has been established at Dichpally. There is also about to be opened a sanatorium for those suffering from tuberculosis. As I dealt fully a year ago in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* with various health measures taken in Hyderabad it is unnecessary to repeat the details today. There can be little doubt but that the changes brought about in public health have added much to the material wealth and to the well being of the people.

TEMPERANCE

The Nizam has from the first recognized that social services alone, however generously supported by public funds and private benevolence, may fail in their objective unless the habits of the people are sound. The 'slum minded' on British housing estates are a sociological problem which has not yet been solved, and in Hyderabad the Nizam has always paid particular attention to the injurious effects of undue indulgence in alcoholic liquor or drugs upon his people. He no doubt had watched the failure of prohibition in another Muslim-ruled State, Bhopal, and he and his advisers have pursued a persuasive policy of temperance teaching, while at the same time trying to bring about the minimum of consumption by raising prices and imposing effective restrictions. Changes have been brought about in administering the opium traffic with a view to making it much more difficult to obtain the drug. There are today about 579 opium shops, as compared with 1,575 twenty years ago, and the consumption has fallen from about 30,000 ounces to about 14,000 ounces, while the revenue from opium has increased by 78 per cent.

Drastic measures have also been taken against alcoholic excess. At one time drunkenness was common. Today the *Sendhi* shops

are segregated and strictly supervised both by the police and municipal officers. Excise taxes have been imposed so that although the consumption of intoxicants has been reduced by 50 per cent the revenue is nearly doubled. In order that alcoholic liquor may be more free from dangerous impurities, pot stills, where spirits have been distilled by hand, have been closed, and steam distilleries under firm control have been erected. A Temperance Committee was recently appointed which, with the full assent of the Nizam, is carrying out a far sighted temperance policy. Roughly, it may be said that the policy is to increase the cost of alcohol and to reduce the number of shops, and in this way to diminish the temptation to alcoholism.

In this respect, as in many others, His Exalted Highness practises what he preaches. In spite of his great wealth he lives without ostentation or extravagance, and is most temperate at the table.

CONCLUSION

This is only a bird's-eye view of the principal aspects of the modernization of Hyderabad during the last 25 years. The present Nizam has been following the traditions first set up by His Highness Asaf Jah who laid the foundations of his kingdom in the Deccan on the principles of benevolence and affection for his subjects. The jubilee address, from which many of the facts given above have been taken, bore abundant witness to the way His Exalted Highness has aimed at removing the gulf which exists between the ruler and the ruled, and at pressing forward reforms in all aspects of national life.

Hyderabad shows that wise Indian self government is not a myth, and proves what can be done by Princes who have wisdom and foresight.

THE PROJECTED FLYING-BOAT SERVICE TO AUSTRALIA

BY LIEUT-COLONEL H BURCHALL, D S O

IN the ASIATIC REVIEW published in July last I gave an outline of the history of the establishment of air services from Europe to the East, and a brief description of the plans that had been adopted by the Government of the United Kingdom for the further development of British Civil Aviation on the Empire routes

The Under Secretary of State for Air had announced these plans in the House of Commons on December 21, 1934, and had said that His Majesty's Government had decided, subject to the co-operation and support of all the other Governments concerned, to make arrangements under which Empire air communications would, in the future, be developed on the following lines

- (1) A very material improvement would be made on present schedules between the several parts of the Empire concerned
- (2) A substantial increase in the frequency of the services would be achieved
- (3) All first-class mail to the Empire countries covered by the projected services would be in future carried by air

The announcement that Imperial Airways, for carrying out this development, proposed to use flying boats on the route to Australia, which up till now has been operated by land aircraft, aroused a considerable amount of interest amongst the public throughout the Empire. Hitherto, only one section of the Empire routes—i.e., across the Mediterranean, has been operated by flying boats. The new flying boats will not, however, entirely replace the land aircraft throughout the route from the United Kingdom to Australia, and land aircraft will still be used on the London Calcutta services, and will, incidentally make calls at places to which flying boats cannot go. There will therefore be flying boats operating from Southampton to Sydney, and land planes flying more or less parallel with them as far as Calcutta.

It is interesting, therefore, to consider some of the causes underlying this change from a fleet preponderatingly land aircraft to one in which flying boats outnumber the land aircraft.

The experience of the last ten years has clearly shown not only that very important reductions in cost per ton carried must be looked for, but that they can be secured by increasing the size of

the aircraft used and employing them more intensively. Other advantages that follow upon increasing the size of the aircraft are covered by the general term 'higher standard of comfort.' The large aircraft allows a greater space per passenger, and avoids that shut in feeling from which some people suffer in small aircraft. The larger cabins also allow of much improved quietness and the provision of a full catering service, all of which, as those who have travelled in the East well know, are of paramount importance.

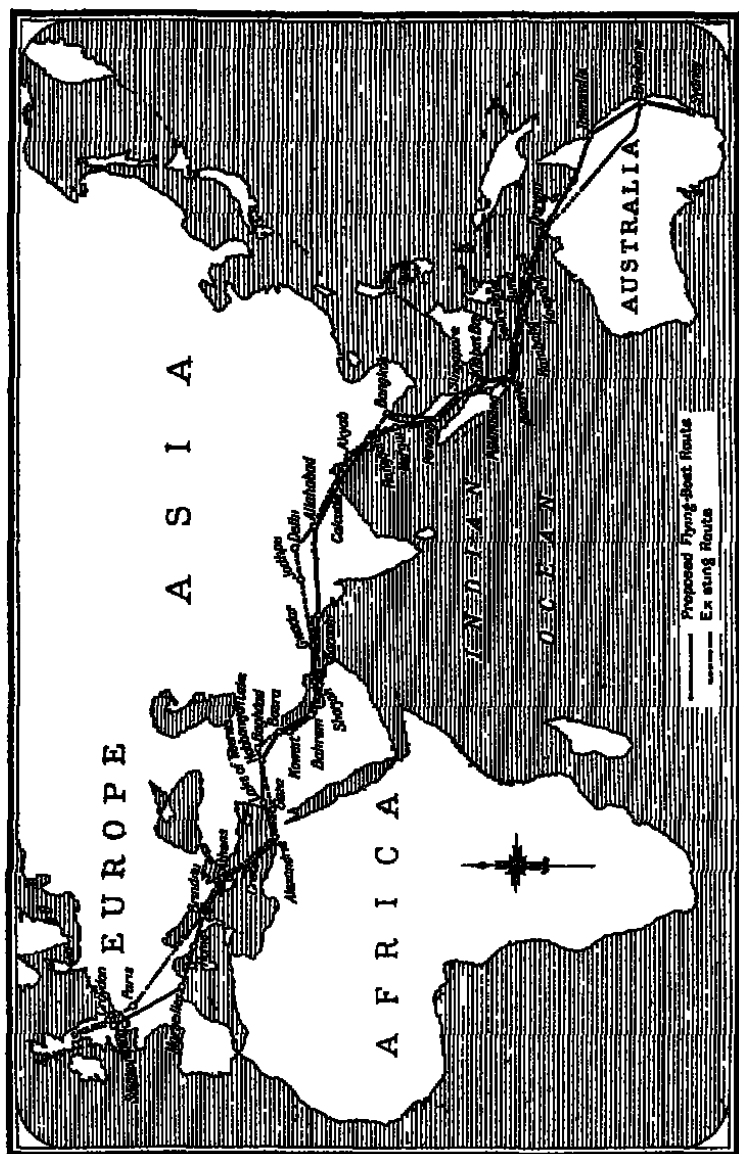
Increasing the size of aircraft is, however, not economically possible unless equally great increases in loads to be carried are forthcoming. The proposal to carry all the Empire mails by air without surcharge at one stroke makes possible low carriage costs, greater frequency, higher speed, and increased comfort.

Steady progress in aircraft construction has made possible aircraft of still larger size, but concurrently it has become evident that in some parts of the world aerodrome construction cannot keep pace with aircraft construction. The successful operation of larger aircraft is dependent upon the ability of the aerodromes to support their weight in all conditions that occur in the course of a year. In parts of the world subjected to heavy rainfall the problem is intensified, and in countries unprovided with suitable materials for building special runways the problem is not susceptible of economic solution.

Today there are still many aerodromes along the route to Australia which become quite unserviceable for heavy air liners after intensive rain, whilst others present difficulties for operations in certain conditions of weather by reason of slope, slippery surface, or obstructions in the vicinity when the aerodrome must be approached from one particular direction. While it is possible to build aircraft undercarriages to support 18 to 20 tons on two pneumatic-tyred wheels, it is becoming increasingly difficult to prepare aerodrome surfaces that will support this weight in all weather conditions, except in countries which have the necessary supplies of material and the requisite skilled labour.

The problem of providing a smooth surface which will support a large land aircraft on two wheels is entirely eliminated with flying boats. So long as a suitable area of protected water is available, any size of flying boat can float upon it and operate from it. Moreover, every increase in the size of marine aircraft improves their seaworthiness, and increases their ability to operate in unfavourable conditions of wind and sea. With land planes, on the other hand, increase in size is liable to introduce difficulties on the ground, in handling and manœuvring.

An economy of major consideration arising from the use of flying-boats is that, generally speaking, marine aircraft will be



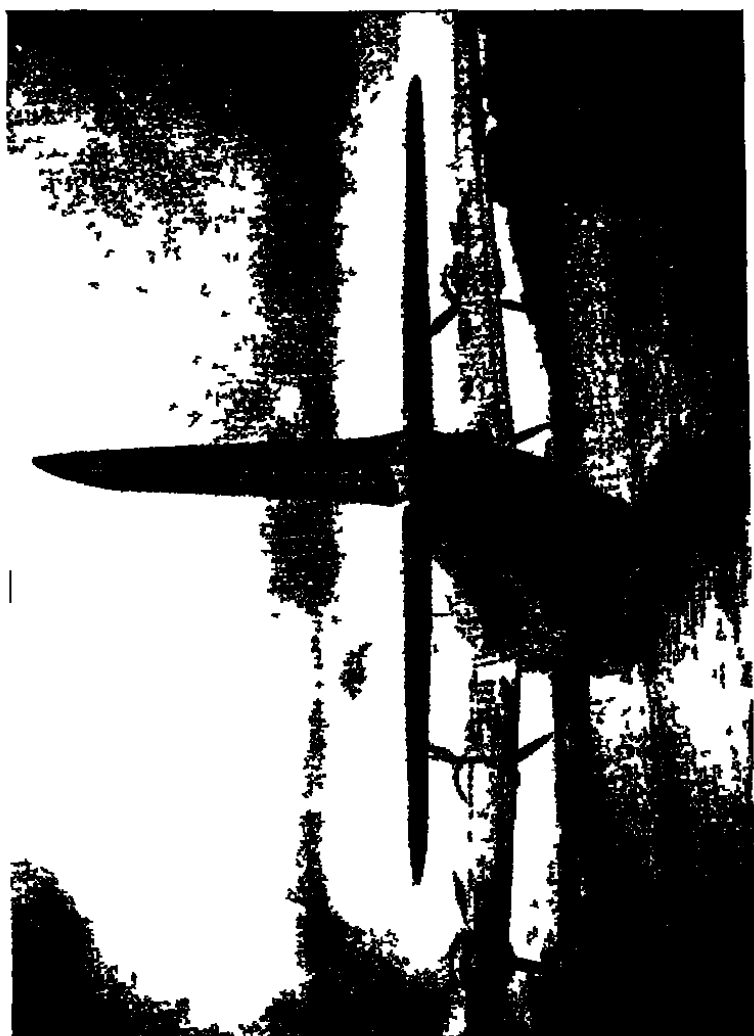
[Copyright Imperial Airways]

able to take their fuel aboard at seaboard prices, which offer a marked economy compared with the cost of refuelling at inland aerodromes, where the cost of transporting the fuel in comparatively small quantities over land greatly increases the price of fuel delivered into aircraft's tanks. Where rail transit has to be employed, the aircraft operator not infrequently suffers from the railways' efforts to protect themselves from motor competition by charging high rates for the transport of petroleum products.

A further consideration, particularly with regard to intermediate stops on the route, is that the use of flying-boats overcomes the housing problem, for flying-boats can ride at their moorings automatically turning into wind, and can in fact remain with safety entirely in the open. Land aircraft do not automatically turn into wind when they are at rest on the ground and generally speaking, land aircraft have to be housed when not flying. It can be argued that land aircraft can be tethered or moored on an aerodrome with safety, but even so they are more liable to suffer from the effects of wind than are flying boats riding at their moorings. Tethered aircraft have sometimes been damaged by gales which have left unharmed flying boats moored to their buoys. It is perhaps noteworthy that none of the marine aircraft employed by Imperial Airways on the Mediterranean services between 1928 and 1936 was ever taken into a hangar. Where maintenance has to be undertaken in bad weather, however, the use of hangars is desirable if not necessary, and now that the Empire flying boats are operating from and returning to this country, the chief maintenance work will be done under cover.

Before reviewing briefly the route that will be followed by the flying-boats on their journey from Europe across Asia to Australia, which is illustrated in the accompanying map, I might refer to one question that is apt to give rise to some surprise, namely, the crossing of land by flying boats. In 1931, Imperial Airways put into commission the first of its four-engined aircraft, for regular main-line air services, and has since used such craft exclusively. The adoption of the four-engined principle was to secure virtual immunity from the old bugbear of aviation, the forced landing due to mechanical troubles. Now, with four-engined aircraft that can continue to fly for long periods with one engine out of action and for shorter periods with even two not working, the risk of forced landing of early days, and even of today with aircraft not having four engines, can be ignored. With such aircraft, one can fly over land or water without anxiety, and from this point of view it is immaterial whether a land plane flies over water or a flying-boat flies over land.

Parenthetically, it may be mentioned that while Imperial Air





THE IMPERIAL AIRWAYS FLYING ROAD CANONIS T & NO W

ways has concentrated on four-engined aircraft, American air transport companies have been concentrating on twin-engined aircraft that can fly on one of their engines. Arguments have been advanced that with four engines there are twice the number of power plants to go wrong, and the assertion has been made that from an actuarial point of view the twin-engined aircraft is the better proposition to avoid engine trouble. This argument appears to ignore the vastly more favourable position of the four-engined aircraft when any minor trouble does develop, and it is significant to note that one of the leading American aircraft constructors is advertising in the United States that the four-engined era, with its greater reliability, has now arrived—six years after it arrived in British aviation!

When Imperial Airways was formed in 1924, one of its constituent companies was already operating a service from Southampton Water to the Channel Islands with flying-boats. A new marine airport is, however, to be constructed at Langstone Harbour, Portsmouth which will be free from the dense marine traffic that passes to and fro in Southampton Water, and will therefore facilitate night flying operations, which are necessary to secure the fastest timetables and the best economic exploitation of the services. Meanwhile, the new Empire flying-boats have been operating out of Southampton since January, and at the present time four services a week leave for Empire destinations, crossing France either by way of Macon on the Soane, or via Bordeaux to Marseilles, where, at Marignane, a magnificent marine airport has been constructed in a lake a few miles inland from the seaport of Marseilles. The illustrations (Plates I and II) show 'Canopus,' the flying boat which carries the class name of the aircraft of this type, at anchor and during the take-off.

From Marseilles, the route lies along the Italian coast and a call will be made at either Rome or Naples. Brindisi, Athens and Alexandria have been accustomed to Imperial Airways flying boats for nearly nine years, and for some years now, eight flying-boat services weekly have been in operation over this Mediterranean sector of the Empire routes.

From Alexandria the Syrian Desert will be crossed from the Sea of Galilee (or Lake Tiberias) in Palestine to Lake Habbaniyeh, 50 miles west of Baghdad. The Sea of Galilee has already been in use for flying boats, as at one time the Mediterranean section of the India route connected there with the land plane service from Cairo to Baghdad. The connection was discontinued in January, 1933, owing to the absence of housing for land planes, and not on account of difficulties experienced by the flying boats on the Lake. Lake Habbaniyeh is probably known to those who have flown across the Syrian Desert, but to few others, as it has up to

now possessed little commercial significance. It forms, however, a very convenient refuelling point for flying-boats on the way to the East and does not suffer the disadvantages of current or of rapid changes of level due to tide or flood. The new Royal Air Force station of Dhibban is situated near the Lake.

From there the route follows the Euphrates and Tigris to Basra. The Basra Port Directorate has established a flying-boat base at Margil, adjacent to the new aerodrome brought into service last year. From there the route follows the south side of the Persian Gulf via Bahrain to Dibai, near the present aerodrome of Sharjah, and then crosses to the other side of the Gulf and continues via Gwadar to Karachi.

Provision is being made for flying-boats to alight in the harbour at Karachi, and whilst mooring facilities are being arranged in shallower water adjacent to the main dredged shipping channel, connection with the dockside is being effected either by means of launches or a pontoon gangway.

Considerable interest will doubtless be taken in the route that will be followed by the flying boats in their passage across India. It has been found that there are many lakes and rivers suitable for use by marine aircraft, although some of the lakes do not appear on many maps of the country. The route chosen will be from Karachi to Calcutta, making calls at either Raj Samand, in Udaipur State or Sardar Samand, in Jodhpur State, at Parichha Reservoir at Jhansi, or at Lake Tighara, in Gwalior State. Thereafter the route will be via the Jumna at Allahabad and to the mouth of the Ganges at Calcutta.

The Akra Reach of the Hoogly is the alighting area at Calcutta, and it is hoped that it will be possible to arrange for co-operation between this marine base and the new Calcutta aerodrome which it is proposed to substitute for Dum Dum as Calcutta's airport. From Calcutta course will be set over the Bay of Bengal for Akyab and then direct to Rangoon.

At Rangoon the flying-boats will alight in the neighbourhood of Monkey Point, but no final decision has been taken as to whether the service shall then go via Bangkok or along the West Coast of the peninsula via Mergui and Victoria Point to Penang. At Singapore the combined marine and land airport, shortly to be opened, will be one of the finest in the world. A special channel will enable the flying boats to taxi alongside the jetty at one side of the main airport. A slipway and hangar is being built, as Singapore will be the terminus of one weekly service. Two, and possibly three, services a week will, however, go through Singapore and on to Australia.

The existing route between Singapore and Darwin is a natural flying-boat route, passing as it does along the line of islands that

comprise the Netherlands Indies, and negotiations are in progress for the use of refuelling facilities at Klabat Bay, in the island of Banka, Batavia, Sourabaya, Bima, and Koepong. Thus Rambang is the only stop on the present air line route over this sector where a call will not be made.

Darwin, on the coast of Australia, possesses as satisfactory facilities for flying-boat operation as for land aircraft. The route proposed for the service from this point to Sydney has been the subject of much consideration and discussion. Ultimately it was agreed that, although the northern coast of Australia is but little known, it offers an entirely practicable flying-boat route. From Darwin the flying-boats would fly overland to the mouth of the Roper River, where it flows into the Gulf of Carpentaria, and then along the southern coast of the Gulf over Vanderlins Island and Wellesley Island to Karumba, at the mouth of the Norman River. From there, in the south-east corner of the Gulf, the route lies over 350 miles of land to the coast of Queensland at Cardwell, 90 miles north of Townville. The rest of the route is along the east coast of Australia in better known territory, via Rockhampton, Gladstone, and Brisbane to Sydney.

Many problems still remain to be dealt with along the route, particularly where lakes and rivers are subject to pronounced seasonal rises and falls in level, or have no suitable shore facilities, and where they are somewhat inaccessible, making connection with the nearest town area difficult or costly. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the costs involved in the preparation of the whole flying boat route will show a considerable saving on the expenditure that would have been necessary for the establishment of the equivalent chain of large and suitable all weather aerodromes.

Before the services can be operated to the proposed frequency, speed, and regularity, the meteorological, wireless, and other navigational facilities along the route must be augmented. Every mile of the route must be covered by an efficient wireless service to aid navigation, and especially at night and in conditions of inferior visibility, and every airport must be provided with all the necessary aids for night flying. Only when the whole route is completely equipped can the ambitious schedule of $2\frac{1}{2}$ days to India, $4\frac{1}{2}$ to Singapore, and 7 to Australia be achieved as a regular practice, and as certain sections of the route need normally to be flown by day, the absence of the desired facilities on any one section may have results which extend far beyond the borders of that section.

The introduction of the carriage of all Empire letter mail by air without surcharge must be done gradually. The aircraft can not be delivered at once and the delivery of the whole fleet will be spread over at least a year. There are, however, enough flying

boats now delivered for one section of the Empire routes to be operated entirely by them. At the present time the whole of the Empire services between England and Egypt are being operated by flying-boats. Before these lines appear in print it is expected that the Africa route will also be operated entirely by flying boats, and it is expected that unsurcharged mail will be carried on that route in June. The Africa service requires less aircraft than the India route, because the mails are less and therefore will enjoy the benefits of the Empire Air Mail Scheme before India, Burma, and the East.

It is expected, however, that the scheme will be introduced on the India and Australia route in stages as enough of the new aircraft become available. At the present time it seems probable that flying-boats may be in operation as far as Karachi by about September, as far as Singapore by about October, and through to Australia by the end of the year or the beginning of 1938.

Plans are not yet complete for the inevitable extension of the Australia service to New Zealand, but the Governments of New Zealand, Australia, and the United Kingdom have for some time had the matter under discussion.

The route involves the use of aircraft having a greater range than is required on either the Africa or Australia routes, but less than that required for the conquest of the Atlantic. The mileage from Sydney to Auckland is approximately 1,450, against practically 2,000 for the ocean link of the Atlantic route. At the present time there is no technical difficulty to prevent the operation of a service between Australia and New Zealand and the Empire Boats with extra fuel tanks to give them a greater range than is required on the existing Empire services have already flown non-stop from Alexandria to Southampton, a distance of about 2,300 miles, and on more than one occasion between Alexandria and Marseilles, a distance of approximately 1,700 miles.

The extra load of fuel, however, reduces the available capacity for paying load and therefore increases the cost per pound of load carried. The cost of passenger fares on such a route must inevitably be at a higher rate per mile than on journeys operated by means of shorter stages.

It may, perhaps, not be out of place to mention that from New Zealand across the Pacific towards North America, as far as Hawaii, similar stages are possible, and the remaining stage, from Hawaii to San Francisco or Vancouver, is of the same order as that from Ireland to Newfoundland. Both routes are already engaging close attention, and in view of the ranges now possible with our latest aircraft, it is unlikely that many more years will pass before regular services span both oceans, completing the girdle of the earth by regular British air services.

THE OUTLOOK IN THE PACIFIC

BY E M GULL

WHATEVER may be the fate of the proposal made by Mr Lyons, the Australian Premier, at the Imperial Conference for a regional understanding and pact of non aggression by the countries of the Pacific, conceived in the spirit of the principles of the League, considerable importance attaches to the opinions and sentiments of China in regard to the problems which evoked the proposal. It so happens that one of the most influential of her writers, Dr Hu Shih, dealt with this subject just before Mr Lyons's statement was made, and that in the next issue of his paper, the *Tu-h P'ing Lun*, or Independent Review, he expressed his views regarding the minimum conditions for the establishment of normal relations between China and Japan. As neither a pact nor an understanding about Pacific affairs has any chance of success unless existing relations between China and Japan can be improved, and as no improvement is possible without some closer approximation of their ideas, statements by representative Chinese and Japanese of the terms on which their two countries might be brought together cannot but be helpful to the other people directly concerned, especially ourselves, whose natural and dominant desire is to live on terms of amity with both peoples. Unfortunately the most authoritative and useful of such statements are made in languages very much more foreign than most non English tongues. Not a few of them, therefore, either remain unknown or become known belatedly and, sometimes, inaccurately. In the present instance no very long time has elapsed, for the articles referred to were published on April 18 and 25.

To take first Dr Hu Shih's views upon the conditions essential to the establishment of better relations between his country and Japan.

A year ago, as he recalls in his article of April 25, his conditions were these

'(1) annulment of the Tangku Truce agreement and abolition of the neutral zone,

"(2) denunciation of the so-called Ho Ying-chün—Umedzu agreement,*

* This agreement, the precise contents of which have never been published was made on or about May 29 1935, when the Japanese made the first of a series of demands relating to the government of North China. The demands included the dismissal of the Governor of Hopei General Yu Hsueh-chung,

'(3) voluntary renunciation by Japan of the 1901 Treaty—*i.e.*, the Boxer Protocol—and the right contained in the relative clauses to station troops in the area of the Peiping-Tientsin railway after removal of the Japanese Embassy to Nanking, repatriation of the Legation guards as a lead to the other signatories of the Boxer Protocol,

'(4) denunciation of the Eastern Hopei agreement of June last year and withdrawal of the Manchukuo troops in Chahar

(5) prohibition in all Provinces of North China and in Fukien of the bogus autonomy movement,

(6) voluntary relinquishment by the Japanese Government of Consular jurisdiction in China as a lead to European countries and America,

(7) to unify foreign relations, a declaration by the Japanese Government that all documents not formally signed by the properly accredited representatives of the two countries—*i.e.*, China and Japan—are null and void '

These conditions were published (in the *Tu-li Ping Lun* of April 19, 1936) with the following comment Dr Hu Shih said

We are convinced that these are determining conditions precedent to a rectification of Sino-Japanese relations. These various items are not sufficient for a basic settlement of Sino-Japanese questions, but we believe firmly that they will inaugurate a new period in the history of Sino-Japanese relations that they can open up a new road that negatively they can at least prevent Sino-Japanese relations from becoming worse, while positively they can diminish hatred to no small extent they can open up a way to new relations through the cliff like barrier that has been erected between the two countries

Contrast with the above what Professor Hu Shih says now—*i.e.*, in an article entitled 'The Present Stage of the Sino-Japanese Question' in the *Tu-li Ping Lun* of April 25, 1937 Referring to the conditions just quoted he writes

"During the past year moderate public opinion has also gradually recognized those (*i.e.*, the above) conditions as

and of other officials charged with violating the Tangku Truce the dissolution of all anti Japanese and anti Manchukuoan organizations and the abolition of the Hopei branches of the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party. These demands were accepted—presumably in the form of an agreement which contained other items. For further reference see page 370 of the *North China Herald* of June 5 and page 414 of June 12, 1935

matters which must be decided during the first stage. For example, a leading article in the *Ta Kung Pao* of February 17 specifies these three items as constituting 'the first stage in the process of rectification, namely (1) abolition of the bogus Eastern Hopei organization, (2) rendition of the six *hsien* in Northern Chahar, (3) complete withdrawal of extraneous organizations throughout North China

So, too, Mr Wang Yun shêng, in the eighth issue of the 14th volume of the weekly paper *Kuo Wen*,* specifies 'three matters that must be completed at the outset, namely (1) abolition of the East Hopei organization, (2) complete cessation of smuggling, (3) regularization of all abnormalities in Hopei and Chahar, Peiping, Tientsin, and other places (including the restoration of sovereignty in Northern Chahar and the dissolution of all *ad hoc* organizations)

Mr Wang says 'These matters constitute an initial road clearing to the establishment of normal Sino-Japanese relations. They are much more moderate than the seven items I mentioned last year. I also am willing to recognize them as the minimum conditions required. If this kind of moderate initial road-clearing is still incapable of accomplishment, we can only conclude that our powerful neighbour has decided that she wants to maintain and prolong a condition of mutual hatred. At the same time we ought, naturally, not to content ourselves merely with fanciful hopes regarding a miraculous change of heart on the part of our powerful neighbour. We ought to urge upon our Government to complete the following essential parts of the first stage: (1) The Government should declare the so-called Ho-Umedzu agreement and the Eastern Chahar agreement to be null and void, (2) the Government should place upon the authorities of Suiyüan and Chahar the joint responsibility of ridding the six *hsien* of Northern Chahar of the Communist menace within a certain time, (3) the Government should employ the resources of the nation in helping the authorities of Hopei and Chahar to clear Eastern Hopei of Communist dens within a certain time.'

This modification of the attitude of Professor Hu Shih and others is all the more promising in view of a survey of the outlook in the Pacific published by him on April 18, in which he urges that the balance of forces there has become unfavourable to Japan.

The survey begins with a reference to the discussion of the

* The *Kuo Wen* may for practical purposes be described as the weekly edition of the *Ta Kung Pao* perhaps the most influential paper in China.

sixth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held in the Yosemite Valley, California, last August—a conference in which I participated as one of a group invited to attend it by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Dr. Hu Shih, who was Chairman of the Chinese group, says that at the close of the conference he could not but recognize that the majority of those present took a pessimistic view as to the possibility of a peaceful solution of the Far Eastern question. Whether he is right or wrong about this (and some who were there may be disposed to query the point) the interesting and important thing is that in his opinion this pessimism was due to a misconception of the circumstances.

‘In their mind’s eye,’ he says—*i.e.*, that of the pessimists—the so-called change in the balance of forces in the Pacific is confined to the complete destruction of the previous balance of power brought about by Japan’s domination by force of East Asia since the Manchurian incident, and the entire inability of the old international régime to deal with this domination. They take the changing balance of forces in the Pacific’ as meaning ‘Japan’s domination of the Western Pacific.’ Naturally they feel hopeless in regard to a peaceful solution. For in the circumstances of one country being absolutely dominant, if the men who rule that country have determined entirely to ignore their international obligations, well, then, short of other Powers being able to dispute its domination effectively by force, there is no other way of salvation. Since the other Powers are not willing, in the face of these conditions of domination, altruistically to sacrifice themselves in war, they can only suffer in silence and be ready altogether to give up for a time international good faith and respect for treaties in the hope of picking up the crumbs that fall from the rich man’s table or, as advocated by the weekly paper *The New Republic*, decide to abandon all interests likely to give rise to conflicts and return to a state of isolation.’

‘But in my personal opinion,’ the Professor proceeds to say ‘this way of looking at the matter is wrong. *Japan’s domination in the Western Pacific*’ is a phrase which describes a reality of the past. It is not applicable to today. (The italics are his.) *Japan’s domination over East Asia is not of today* but appertains to the seventeen years prior to September 18, 1931 (1914 to 1931). *After September 18, 1931, because she abused her hegemony, she set new forces in motion she brought a new balance of forces into existence and consequently the position of domination could not be maintained.* Such is the historical reality.”

He then goes on to argue, in a manner which he thinks will be regarded by some as paradoxical, that the Nine-Power Treaty, though designed to establish new obligations limiting Japan's domination in the Far East, in fact strengthened her domination by the very fact of recognizing it. For a period—down to 1931—it was a harmless domination and because it was harmless it was at its strongest. Then came the Tsinan incident of May 3, 1928, and the anti-Japanese boycott. The Japanese militarists became dissatisfied with harmless domination (there is an intervening reference here to the patience of the Wakatsuki Cabinet), broke through international restraints, abused their tyrannical power and brought off the Manchurian incident. Thereafter, the more the mailed fist was brought into evidence, the more Japan's international position declined.

The decline is traced through three stages, corresponding with, indeed consisting of, the introduction of three new sets of forces which Japan's misuse of her power set in motion: (1) The re-emergence of Russia as a first-class Power, (2) the strengthening of British forces in the Pacific, together with the increase of the United States Navy, and (3) last, but not least, the unification and strengthening of China. As a result a new balance of power has gradually been created, and Japan is only one of the factors in it. We cannot but realize, the writer declares, that these new factors can bring about the disaster of war and can also furnish the basis of a peaceful solution. Whether they result in disaster or salvation depends entirely upon the capacity or incapacity of statesmen completely to realize the new situation and their capacity or incapacity to make use of it. The most important key to the situation is still to be found in the capacity of Japan for a fundamental, honest-to-goodness change of heart.

Upon this follows a passage which, because of its bearing upon Mr. Lyons's proposal for a Pacific Pact, I quoted in a letter to *The Times* of May 22. It reads:

If Japan is still unable to perceive that she has created a new situation in the Pacific, if she still cherishes the illusion that she is the sole arbiter of the destinies of East Asia, if she still desires to force China along the path of the deer driven to its death, if these newly arisen circumstances cannot be well and truly blended and developed towards a common purpose—well, then, this new balance of power must certainly lead us towards a second world war which, beginning with a clash between China and Japan, will gradually involve all the Pacific Powers in a most grievous, fierce and monstrous whirlpool. There is not a single Pacific Power which can hope for a lucky escape. But if the world still has far-

sighted statesmen they will be able to see in this new balance of power a new hope for peace, a new foundation for a world order. They should be able to see that these new conditions can be used to establish a new organization for peace and collective security in the Pacific region. In that new organization the U S S R., America, England (with her Dominions in the Pacific), and China and Japan should all participate on an equal footing and together seek a solution for the peace and security of the Pacific and of the world as a whole. Several questions there are which cannot be settled singly by the parties directly concerned, but which should be capable of solution comparatively easily through the new organization.

To sum up—the days of Japan's domination of Eastern Asia and the Western Pacific are realities of the past. In the interests of Japan's future no less than China's, the far-seeing men of our two countries should see and realize clearly that there is a new situation in the Pacific. They should consider and plan how they may use it for the promotion of a permanent peace between our two countries. The blundering methods of a blind man riding a blind horse must certainly plunge our countries into unimagined sufferings.'

An equally definite expression of opinion by Dr. Hu Shih appears in the *Tu-h P'ing Lun* of May 23. In an article upon the talks which have been proceeding in London between the Japanese and the British Governments, he quotes a newspaper report from Tokio of May 10 to the effect that, at a conference of the Japanese Ministers of Foreign Affairs, War and the Navy, at which Sino-Japanese and Anglo-Japanese relations were discussed, it was decided that 'Japan must adopt an attitude of complete opposition to the reported intention of the Chinese Foreign Office to propose the establishment of a system of collective security in the Pacific. The report also stated that 'as regards restoring Anglo-Japanese co-operating in respect of Chinese questions,' the three Ministers were in favour of 'maintaining close relations with England, each country respecting the existing position of the other.' Commenting on this Dr. Hu Shih says

'We do not know when our Foreign Office made the proposal for a system of collective security in the Pacific region. If our Government has made a decision of this kind we ought whole heartedly to support it. If Japan, while maintaining an attitude of complete opposition to a system of collective security, is discussing concerted action or co-operation with regard to China with Eden, we believe that the Anglo-Japanese talks in London will be fruitless. Japanese politicians should understand that to discuss co-operation with

England in regard to China upon a basis of mutual respect for the existing position between England and Japan—that is to 'divide the spoils, *that* is 'to use barbarians to control China through a division of spoils,' *that* neither the Chinese Government nor the Chinese people can possibly tolerate.*

That kind of method can certainly never solve the Sino-Japanese question. Nor can it solve the Sino-Japanese-Anglo question. Still less can it solve the whole Pacific question. There is only one road to the solution of these various questions, that is for the Powers of the Pacific—China, Japan, Soviet Russia, England (and her Dominions in the Pacific), and America—to associate themselves on an equal footing in a positive system of collective security and together seek a solution of the difficult problems which confront the various countries of the Pacific and cannot be separately settled by the parties concerned."

* It should be explained that these sentences are used by way of reversing Japan's charge quoted earlier in the article, that China's policy is to use barbarians to control barbarians —s : *chih* :

THE INDIAN COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1936

BY VERA ANSTAY

(Lecturer in Commerce London School of Economics)

It has long been widely recognized that weaknesses in the spheres of industrial leadership, organization and finance are amongst the greatest obstacles to more rapid industrialization in India. Another of the chief obstacles—*i.e.*, the dearth of capital—may also be attributed, at least partially, to deficiencies in the former spheres, as the idea has become prevalent that industrial investments carry a particularly high degree of risk.

The deficiencies referred to have proved difficult to remedy, partly because of the working of the Managing Agency System, which has led to a practical monopoly of industrial leadership by a small and closely inter related number of firms, which undertake management on behalf of the great bulk of large-scale industrial and plantation companies at work in India.

An effort to grapple with the problem has at last been made by the passage of the Indian Companies (Amendment) Act, 1936, which came into force on January 15, 1937. Probably this legislation will not suffice to remedy the fundamental deficiencies, but it may at least be welcomed as a first instalment, offering some contribution towards the solution of a serious problem.

THE MANAGING AGENT SYSTEM

The Managing Agent System has been defined as 'one where by, when a company is formed, the actual management is handed over to another firm—usually a well known, long-established trading concern—which for this purpose is appointed its managing agent.'* The managing agent firm usually promotes the new company, whether the latter is formed in Europe or in India, helps in the provision of block capital (usually retaining enough shares to ensure ultimate control) and directly undertakes production and marketing. Working capital is obtained from private depositors (especially in the cotton mill industry), loans from other firms (frequently either the managing agent firm itself, or other companies which it manages), and loans from banks. In the latter case it is customary for joint stock banks to require two signatures, one of which must be that of the managing agent firm.

As a rule each managing agent controls a number of firms engaged in various types of enterprise. Thus the opportunity for

* G. E. Hubbard *Eastern Industrialization and its Effect on the West*
p. 255

loans, purchases and sales between the companies under the one management become very great. For instance, the well known firm of Andrew Yule acts as managing agent for fifty or more concerns, including at least ten jute mills, fifteen coal companies, two hydraulic companies, a flour mill, and many miscellaneous concerns. Payment is made to the managing agent by means of a fee for office expenses, and commission for management (based on output, sales or profit), whilst it also profits from the sale of goods to the concerns managed, and from share-ownership.

In the nineteenth century the system had certain advantages. It provided expert, reliable and continuous management, the promotion and financing of new ventures were facilitated, economies were secured in administration and from joint purchase and sales. No doubt so long as large-scale industry was in its infancy, when it was mainly in the hands of Europeans who did not reside permanently in the country, and when it was above all necessary to inspire confidence in European investors, the system tended to promote rather than retard enterprise. The system was not confined to European companies, but was adopted in the cotton mill industry (which has always been mainly in Indian hands) and spread to many modern types of industry which have sprung up with the extension of joint stock company organization in India.

Criticisms of the system became vocal towards the end of the nineteenth century, and have since increased in volume and bitterness. The rapid growth of diverse industries, under the ægis of protection, the greater supplies and availability of Indian capital for industrial purposes, and the ever growing need for quick adaptation on account of changing technique and the pressure of competition, have rendered urgent a more elastic system, giving more scope for indigenous enterprise and leadership, and which shall restore to shareholders their rightful place in control of those to whom they have entrusted their capital.

DEFECTS OF THE SYSTEM

The chief defects of the system in the past may be summarized as follows. Firstly it has led to undue concentration of control. Not only have the managing agents owned a substantial proportion of the shares, but in practice they have controlled the nomination of directors, and have chosen their nominees from a very small circle. Hence the same individuals serve on many boards of directors. Individual shareholders are unorganized and apathetic, and hence have failed to exercise even such powers as they possessed. Directors have been chosen on account of their connection with managing agents and financial status rather than for

specialized knowledge, and few possess technical qualifications. No time limit has been set to the appointment of managing agents, who have not been removable by shareholders. The office, notably in the cotton mill industry, has tended to become hereditary, whilst in certain cases it has been assigned to the managing agents' nominee without reference to the shareholders.

INDIAN COMPANY LAW

The status and power of managing agents were particularly anomalous because, until the Act of 1936, they were not even mentioned by Indian Company Law. Legislation was contained in the Act of 1913 (modified in 1914), which amended the Act of 1882 and was based on English Company Law. This Act aimed at safeguarding shareholders by enforcing publicity as regards contracts and the interests of directors. It was argued that it was unnecessary to mention managing agents because when they were directors they were dealt with by the law in that capacity, and when they were not directors their relations with the company were necessarily governed by contract, and the Act provided that every material contract must be disclosed in the prospectus.* A proposal for the appointment by shareholders of a majority of independent directors was negatived on the ground that in fact this would disfranchise the majority of shareholders, in favour of a minority, because in practice the majority of the shares in many concerns were held by the managing agents themselves, together with their friends and relatives.

Under these conditions the managing agents and their associates have formed a closed circle, in control of the principal large-scale industries. Young men without influence have been unable to enter the circle, all the more because of the lack of provision for training or for gaining industrial experience.

Secondly, the system has tended to hinder the development of a sound relationship between industry (especially small-scale enterprises) and banking, as joint stock banks have hesitated to assist enterprises unless the latter were backed by managing agents,† whilst indigenous banks charge heavy interest rates and entail other disadvantages.

Thirdly, the system has discouraged initiative and enterprise, as managing agents have preferred to concentrate upon the promotion of types of enterprise already tested by experience.

Fourthly, the system has offered many opportunities for exploitation arising out of dealings between managing agents and

* V Anstey *Economic Development of India* Appendix E.

† The Banks have been severely criticized for their policy but have not been entirely to blame, because of the tendency of Indian firms to under-capitalize, the original capital frequently being insufficient to cover even block capital.

the companies they manage, and between the various companies managed by one agent. Moreover, although the Act provided for full disclosure of interests, in practice these clauses have not been fully enforced * There is also a possibility of a clash between the interests of the various firms managed by one agency

Finally, the payment of commission upon output or sales, instead of upon profits, tended (where adopted) to divorce the interests of the managing agent from those of the company managed

THE INDIAN COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1936

The Act of 1936 attempts to remedy some of these evils by regulating the status and activities of managing agents, directors and shareholders. It also regulates the winding up and liquidation of companies. In addition, it provides special regulations for banking companies. Here it is proposed to concentrate mainly upon the clauses referring to directors, managing agents and shareholders

(1) AMENDMENTS AFFECTING THE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF DIRECTORS

According to the Act of 1913 it was necessary to vest the powers of management in a board of directors, but nothing was said about the size of the board. The new Act provides that there shall be at least three directors, two-thirds of whom shall be elected by the share and debenture holders, and not more than one third of whom shall be nominated by the managing agent. Not less than two-thirds of the directors of companies incorporated after the commencement of the Act are to have their period of office determined by rotation. A director appointed after the commencement of the Act can be removed from his position before the time of retirement by rotation by an extraordinary resolution of a general meeting. A directorship is not to be assigned, unless with the approval of the company by special resolution. Undischarged bankrupts are ineligible as directors, and no servant of the company, not excluding a director, the managing agent or manager, is to be exempted from any penalty or liability by means of any articles of agreement. Loans or guarantees of loans by a company to a director, or to a firm of which such director is a partner, are prohibited, and directors cannot hold any office of profit under the company, except that of a managing director, managing agent, or manager, as a legal or technical adviser, or a banker, except with the consent of the company † No director

* Report of the Statutory Enquiry into the Cotton Industry 1926 p 86

† This does not apply to offices held by directors before the commencement of the Act.

or managing agent can enter into contracts with the company for the sale, purchase or supply of goods except with the consent of the board. The profit and loss account must show particulars of payments to directors and managing agents, whether as fees or commissions, etc., and it is compulsory to publish the directors annual report.

(2) AMENDMENTS REFERRING TO MANAGING AGENTS

The new law defines a managing agent as a person, firm or company entitled to the management of the whole affairs of a company by virtue of an agreement with the company, and under the control and direction of the directors, except to the extent, if any, otherwise provided for in the agreement,* and includes any person, firm or company occupying such position by whatever name called.

Certain limitations on the powers of managing agents have already been mentioned under heading (1) above. In addition, it is provided that existing managing agencies shall end after twenty years, unless renewed by vote of the shareholders, and that new managing agencies shall not be granted for a period of more than twenty years. The transfer of the office of managing agent by sale of rights is prohibited unless with the consent of the company. Managing agents are to vacate office if they become insolvent or are convicted of a non bailable offence, and if the company is wound up on account of the negligence or default of the managing agent, no compensation is to be paid to him. The mortgaging of the commissions and remuneration of managing agents is to be illegal. Loans by the company to the managing agent are prohibited, and managing agents are also prohibited from borrowing from one company under their management for another company under their management, except in the case of subsidiary companies. A managing agent must not engage on his own account in business competing with that of the company managed. The payment of commissions to managing agents is to be based on a fixed percentage of net valuation of profits, the method of calculating profits being determined in great detail. This will bring to an end the payment of commission on output or sales, as also the prevalent system of calculating commission before deduction of depreciation. Provision is made for a minimum payment to the managing agent, if profits are absent or inadequate. Finally, the appointment, removal or variation in the terms of appointment of the managing agents must be approved by shareholders at a general meeting.

* The agreement is the contract whereby a managing agent is appointed.

(3) AMENDMENTS RELATING TO SHAREHOLDERS

In addition to the various provisions already mentioned affecting the rights of shareholders to appoint directors, remove a director before retirement by rotation, control the acceptance of office under the company, control a transfer of the office of managing agent, and to control the appointment, removal or variations in the terms of appointment of a managing agent, it is laid down that shareholders whose rights are altered by a majority vote can appeal to the Court, which can disallow the alteration if it is satisfied that the latter would unfairly prejudice shareholders of the class who have applied to the Court, that the minute book of general meetings is to be open to inspection by the shareholders, and that shares cannot be allotted by the directors unless a minimum subscription necessary for certain fixed items of expenditure has been received. This latter provision should go far to prevent the undercapitalization which has been referred to above as a prevalent defect.

The chief provisions affecting banking companies prohibit the formation of such a company after the Act comes into force unless shares sufficient to yield Rs 50,000 for working capital have been allotted, compel the transference of at least 20 per cent. of the profits to a reserve fund until the latter is equivalent in amount to the paid up capital, provide for a cash reserve amounting to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the time and 5 per cent. of the demand liabilities, and prohibit such a company from forming or holding shares in any subsidiary company, except a subsidiary company of its own formed to undertake business incidental to banking, as defined by the Act.

The new legislation may be expected to prevent the worst of the actual abuses previously prevalent, to improve substantially the position of shareholders—if the latter take advantage of their legal powers—and to widen the choice of directors. On the other hand, little or nothing has been done to prevent the reappointment of managing agents, or to lessen the concentration of industrial management in their hands, except in so far as their management has been conspicuously inefficient or fraudulent. It has been suggested* that the law may give them a new lease of life. At any rate it is clear that reforms in other spheres, especially in the spheres of banking and of training for industrial management and leadership, are also necessary, if Indian industrial enterprise is to be freed from the stranglehold of custom and the shackles of a system for the promotion and organization of industrial enterprises which originated to meet problems and a situation which have now become things of the past.

* *Insurance and Financial Review* December 1936 Reforms of Indian Company Law, by T. Banerjee

THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT IN INDIA*

BY NABAGOPAL DAS, PH.D.(ECON), I.C.S.

INTRODUCTORY MANAGING AGENTS

If one takes a cross-section of industrial enterprise in India today one is surprised to find the existence, nay, predominance, of a peculiar institution in almost every branch of industry. This is the so-called Managing Agency system—an institution that has come in for a good deal of criticism in recent years. Historically, the rise of managing agents was due to the fact that they fulfilled the rôle of promoters and pioneers in the various industries of India, they came into prominence because it was they and they alone who could supply a regular stream of trained and efficient managers, and they gathered power as they found that the capital market was notoriously shy and that industry looked to them for financial aid, both direct and indirect.

The dominance of managing agents in the sphere of industrial activity in India has been achieved by certain special circumstances. Firstly, in many industries the managing agents themselves or their friends have holdings of substantial blocks of shares. In 1927, in the cotton textile industry of Bombay the percentage of shares held by managing agents was, on the average, 40 to 60 per cent, and in exceptional cases it was as high as 90 per cent. In the jute and coal industries also, managing agents or their friends hold an important percentage of shares in the concerns they manage. Secondly, control is secured by managing agents as the principal creditors (or guarantors of credit) of the companies managed. Sometimes managing agents are the largest debenture holders having charges on the assets and undertakings of the companies. Thirdly, even when managing agents do not hold any substantial percentage of shares in their concerns, they are assured of their control because the majority of shareholders, being distributed over long distances, are unable to unite effectively against their dictatorial management. Fourthly, although the Managing Agency system has been in existence in India for well over seventy or eighty years, the Indian law relating to companies

* For a more detailed study a reference may be made to the writer's *Banking and Industrial Finance in India* (Calcutta, 1936), and also to his forthcoming work *Industrial Enterprise in India* (Oxford University Press, London).

never statutorily recognized them or curtailed their activities until the other day (1936) and consequently unscrupulous managing agents could easily do a lot of things without actually transgressing the law. Finally, and this is most important, managing agents have secured enormous control by means of their written agreements.

MANAGING AGENCY AGREEMENTS

These managing agency agreements have come in for a good deal of criticism in recent years, and hence it is important to analyse what they imply. A managing agency agreement is, strictly speaking, a written agreement between a firm of managing agents on the one hand and an industrial concern on the other, by which the former undertakes to 'manage' the concern in return for a certain office allowance and/or some commission on sale output or profits. The agreements are generally of two kinds—terminable and non terminable. In Bombay and Calcutta a managing agency agreement is usually fixed for a specified initial period, at the end of which the discontinuance of the agreement is dependent on an extraordinary resolution of the company to that effect. The usual period in Bombay has been from 30 to 40 years, while in Calcutta it has been from 10 to 20 years. In Ahmedabad, on the other hand with hardly any exception, the agreements are subject to no time-limit and are more or less permanent and non terminable. As these agreements were outside the purview of law until the passing of the Indian Companies Amendment Act, 1936, they tended to be very arbitrary and autocratic, particularly in Bombay and Ahmedabad. Instances are known of agreements providing that the appointment of the agents was not liable to be revoked or cancelled on any other ground except their voluntary resignation in writing.

The most important item in a managing agency agreement (or articles of association, as it is sometimes called) is the stipulation regarding payment of a certain office allowance and/or some commission by the company to the agents. A good deal of criticism has, in recent years, been levelled at these stipulations on the ground that they are arbitrary, excessive and unfair. Now, both the rate and the amount of these allowances and commissions vary from industry to industry and it is difficult to say that they are either excessive or unfair. Managing agents manage as well as finance, whereas managing directors would manage but not finance, and hence industry should be prepared to pay slightly more to the former. On the other hand, it is a fact that the agreements have given opportunities to unscrupulous managing agents to find devices for additional and/or secret profits. The managing agent's remuneration has generally been calculated on

gross profits in the sense of profits before depreciation is set aside, an additional remuneration has often been obtained by way of a special compensation, and, finally, in some agreements clauses have been inserted for supplementary or secret profits.

Other abuses also crept in. In Bombay and Ahmedabad, for instance, the agreements often provided that the managing agent might assign to a third party his interests or his duties under the agreement and for this assignment no specific sanction by the directors or shareholders was needed. Managing agency firms have also been inclined to manage far too many companies at the same time and to inter invest funds amongst these companies. This latter practice has not infrequently led to the perpetuation of thoroughly insolvent concerns which it would have been to the interest of an industry as a whole to have closed down. Finally, managing agents have been known to have engaged in purchase, sale or other subsidiary services on behalf of their managed companies even when the shareholders of those companies were reluctant to entrust them with the performance of those services.

The net position has been this: managing agents have, in recent years, been inclined to usurp for themselves more and more power through the instrument of their agreements. Even a company having a joint stock organization and a majority of independent shareholders was completely under the domination of the agent by virtue of the agreement, which was practically beyond the reach of legal control. In Bengal the European managing agency firms were largely free from these abuses, but in Bombay and Ahmedabad, barring a few exceptions, managing agency firms (mostly Indian) tended to be autocratic, inefficient and unimaginative.

THE NEW ACT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

It was primarily to regulate the managing agency agreements and to stop some of the abuses of management noted above that the Indian legislatures passed a comprehensive Indian Companies (Amendment) Act last year*. The Act is based on two principal considerations: firstly, that every attempt should be made to make extremely difficult the malpractices which have come to light as a result of the working of the old Act of 1913, secondly, that the provisions for stopping these apprehended malpractices must not be so unreasonable and onerous as to keep away honest men from having to do anything with joint stock companies. The new Act does *not* abolish the managing agency system: it only prescribes certain standards of management and to some extent circum-

* The writer does not make a detailed analysis of the provisions of the new Act in this article, as a detailed study appears elsewhere in this issue.

scribes the extravagant privileges of the managing agent *vis-à-vis* his company

It would be interesting to note in this connection the fact that managing agency firms no longer monopolize all enterprise and managerial ability in India. Concerns managed by managing directors responsible to boards of directors are steadily on the increase, and even where managing agents manage a company on behalf of the board of directors, the latter are no longer just sleeping partners. A new class of entrepreneurs unconnected with established firms of managing agents is definitely emerging, and this is particularly noticeable in the new industries—e.g., in the sugar, cement, paper, and match concerns.

THE FUTURE SOME SUGGESTIONS

What, then, is the outlook for the future? The future of industrial management in India resolves itself ultimately into a two-fold problem. Firstly, it is necessary that those who manage a company—whether they are managing agents, managing directors or a board of directors—must try to be more efficient and energetic than they have hitherto been. Secondly, the ever increasing body of shareholders and investors must begin to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the concerns into which they have put their money, so that it may become increasingly difficult for the management to remain inefficient or unenterprising. Legislation by itself cannot make management more efficient or honest, nor can it make shareholders more active or intelligent.

Regarding the first problem, the very large number of company failures during the last ten or fifteen years points to the fact that business efficiency as well as business morality have not reached a satisfactory level. The tendency of some business men in India to take advantage of any loopholes and to make money in all sorts of questionable ways should be a matter of deep concern to every one interested in the industrial progress of the country. A very recent and typical illustration may be quoted from a report of the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, Bengal: 'A type of mal-practice very much in evidence during the last few years is the practice of receiving security deposits by offering employments. The security is received by the company and is said to be spent in its business, although it means nothing but paying the remuneration and travelling and other allowances of the directors and the managing agents of the company. The services of the persons engaged are very frequently dispensed with on the slightest pretext without returning the security deposits.' It is, therefore, pre-eminently necessary that the various chambers of commerce and such organizations as millowners' associations should lay down

strict rules of conduct for managers, directors and managing agents and should severely punish any breaches therefrom—without scruple or hesitation

As regards shareholders, it is an encouraging sign that in the two most important industrial centres—viz., at Calcutta and Bombay—shareholders have banded themselves into shareholders' associations for the protection of their own interests. Nevertheless, the general apathy of the shareholder in India is a by word and it has been noted in successive reports on the administration of joint stock companies in India. This apathy must go. Following the practice of Holland, in India also the shareholders of each company should appoint a small "Shareholders Committee," consisting of representatives of both the big shareholders and the smaller ones, and this body may be entrusted with the work of supervising and reporting upon the activities of the management—whether managing agents or boards of directors, or both—to the general body of shareholders. This committee need not have the power to veto the acts of the management, but it should certainly have the power to call for details or explanations of their more important acts and then it shall be left to the general body of shareholders to decide whether the discharge of duties by the management is satisfactory or not. This procedure will enable the average shareholder to keep himself in continuous touch with the affairs of a company, and, with goodwill on both sides, this will certainly not hamper the smooth administration of a company. On the other hand, it will make the habitually shy potential investor of India less nervous about sinking his money in an industrial enterprise, as he will have the assurance that he will be kept regularly informed of all the major developments inside his company.

CEYLON'S PRESENT CONSTITUTION

By G C S CORRA

IN this article I propose to set forth as fully as the limited space allotted to me permits the more important features of Ceylon's present Constitution, and in my next article I shall examine the difficulties that have been disclosed as inherent in such a scheme. It might perhaps be useful to begin by a rapid survey of the form of government that prevailed in Ceylon before 1931 when the new Constitution came into force. From 1815, when the British occupation of Ceylon began, up to 1931 the Governor carried on the Government with the advice of the Executive and Legislative Councils. The Executive Council was originally composed of officials, but later also of unofficials who were all nominated by the Governor. The Legislative Council up to 1911 consisted of officials and a few unofficials who were all nominated. The Elective principle was first conceded in 1911 when one member to represent the educated Ceylonese was elected. Further reforms in 1921 enlarged the number of elected members. These numbers were again increased in 1924 and resulted in an unofficial majority. The Council, however, still continued to function only as a means of ventilating grievances and criticizing the actions of the Government, which still was the Governor. By the new Constitution of 1931 the whole position was altered and the government of the country to a large extent was vested in a State Council consisting of fifty members elected on a universal franchise to represent the fifty territorial divisions into which the country was divided on a population basis, and eight members, of whom four were to be Europeans, nominated by the Governor. There were also three *ex-officio* members—*i.e.*, the Chief Secretary, the Legal Secretary and the Financial Secretary—who were to be called the Officers of State, but these three had no vote, although they could take part in the proceedings of the Council. The State Council was to sit in Executive as well as Legislative sessions. When the Council, completed in the aforesaid manner, assembled it proceeded to elect its Speaker by ballot and then divided itself also by ballot into seven Executive Committees. Each Executive Committee then elected one of its members as its Chairman. The Council thereafter proceeded to elect a Deputy-Speaker and a Deputy Chairman of Committees. The Council was now ready to enter upon its task of government. Each Executive Committee above referred to was allocated definite functions, and the Departments

of Government administering these functions were placed under the Executive Committee. The several Executive Committees into which the Government is thus divided are the Executive Committees of Home Affairs, Health, Education, Local Administration, Agriculture and Lands, Labour, Industry and Commerce, and Communications and Works, and the functions of each Committee are specifically dealt with in a schedule to the Order in Council of 1931. The Chairman of each Executive Committee is appointed by the Governor as the Minister of those subjects allocated to the Committee. These seven Ministers form the Board of Ministers. Here you have the whole scheme of government, and it now remains to see how this delicate task is carried out by this somewhat cumbersome and certainly novel scheme.

Each Executive Committee decides the policy that should be adopted in respect to the subjects under its control, and the task of carrying out that policy is undertaken by the departments in charge of those subjects. The departments are under the general control of the Executive Committees. These Executive Committees also have to deal with many questions of administrative details that come up from time to time for settlement. These Committees prepare the Annual Estimates for money necessary to maintain their departments and carry out the policy laid down. They also from time to time prepare special estimates for work of an unforeseen and urgent nature or for some new policy, the adoption of which has become necessary. In connection with policy the Executive Committee has to report to the State Council on any new policy it proposes to adopt in respect of the subjects under its control. These reports are debated in the Council and voted upon and if carried have to be ratified by the Governor, who has the power of refusing to ratify or of returning for further consideration. Once the report is adopted in Council and ratified by the Governor it becomes the policy of the Government. The Executive Committees may also submit motions in Council to obtain the opinion of the State Council. The Annual Financial Estimates and Supplementary Estimates are submitted by the Executive Committees through the Treasury to the Board of Ministers. It should also be noted that in respect of all subjects allocated to any Executive Committee that Committee is the only authority competent to deal with any question affecting those subjects. The Executive Committees are thus important because they take the initiative in shaping policy and in hammering out all the mass of details that is so necessary before a good case can be made out in the State Council.

The Board of Ministers consists of the seven Ministers and the three Officers of State. The Chief Secretary is the Chairman, but neither he nor the other two Officers of State have the right to

vote One of the Ministers is elected as the Vice-Chairman of the Board of Ministers and he becomes the Leader of the State Council The most important function of the Board of Ministers is to submit the annual budget to the Council The Board of Ministers cannot be considered as a distinct entity entitled to prepare the budget upon a definite policy which it has the desire to adopt All that it can do is to reduce the expenditure proposed by the different Committees and then find out ways and means of finding money to meet the expenditure This expenditure will be met by normal revenue or by new taxation if the normal revenue is insufficient The Board of Ministers is collectively held responsible for the budget, and if it is thrown out the Council will be dissolved The Board has also to consider and approve the supplementary estimates that Executive Committees propose to submit to the State Council The Board is then able to exercise a check on the expenditure or even on the policy of Executive Committees, but has no power of initiation in regard to policy It is, however, wholly responsible for finding money, and the burden and odium of new taxation proposals have to be borne by the Board of Ministers No expenditure voted by the Council can be incurred without the prior sanction of the Board of Ministers, which it gives by the issue of a general or special warrant The Board of Ministers also prepares the agenda for each meeting of the State Council

The State Council itself meets on appointed dates to consider the agenda thus prepared No oral questions can be asked except by way of supplementary questions arising from answers oral or written given to questions which have been sent in writing to the Clerk of the Council Notice of motions can be given in open Council by members Government business has priority except during the time specially set apart for private members' motions or except when any matter of urgent public importance is taken up or when standing orders are suspended. The whole Council goes into Committee in its Executive Sessions, and all matters discussed in Committee are put to the vote when Council resumes The State Council has two Standing Committees to which all legislative measures are referred after the second reading These Committees after consideration of these bills report to the State Council, which has the power of dealing only with alterations actually made in Committee Some bills and particularly the Annual Appropriation Bill are not referred to a Standing Committee, but are dealt with by the whole Council in Committee after its second reading in Council

The three Officers of State form a Public Services Commission, which makes recommendations to the Governor in regard to all appointments above a fixed salary scale, while Heads of Depart-

ments make appointments in their own discretion to posts carrying salaries below that scale. In the former class the Executive Committee concerned in the Departments to which the appointment is made are consulted and their recommendation along with that of the Public Services Commission goes to the Governor, with whom rests the actual appointment. All transfers are made and all disciplinary action is taken by the Public Services Commission. The State Council has no voice in any matter affecting the public service, and no motion or resolution affecting the pay, prospects or conditions of service of any public servant can be moved by a member of the Council without the prior sanction of the Governor. The three Officers of State are also like Ministers in charge of special subjects such as the Public Services, Finance, and the Administration of Justice. They are, however, not responsible to the Council but only to the Governor.

The Governor has only reserve powers vested in him. He must ratify reports adopted in Council in regard to new policy. He can give his assent to bills, or reserve them for the signature of His Majesty's pleasure or he can refuse to give his assent or return them for further consideration. In all matters which in his opinion are of paramount importance or are essential to give effect to the Constitution, he has the right of certification and when the Governor so certifies the action acquires legal force. The Governor has the right in certain circumstances to dissolve the Council before its period is completed.

These are the main features of this novel Constitution. It will be obvious that it can be satisfactorily worked only by the exercise of great goodwill and co-operation among those who have shouldered the burden and also between them and the Officers of State. The present Governor Sir Edward Stubbs, has definitely stated that the Constitution has been successfully worked. The credit must rest with all those concerned in its working, but this success was achieved by a special determination to avoid the many difficulties that often would have wrecked the scheme by the exercise of great caution and restraint. It will not always be possible to achieve this, and in my next article I shall analyze the difficulties and suggest remedies.

A FILM OF MYSORE

ELEPHANT BOY

(Reviewed by Basabandranath Tagore)

AFTER seeing *Elephant Boy* at the Leicester Square Theatre, one can sigh with relief that this picture, which is based on Kipling's *Toomai of the Elephants* lacks all the cinematograph 'gags' that are generally used in ordinary American motion pictures. The most noticeable thing in it is that its cast does not include the name of a single woman and consequently we are spared the usual love scenes. It is devoid of all American slang, and for once we are honoured by the absence of the company of the G-Men. Though the film is so simple in its theme, it has a peculiar charm which enthralls both young and old alike.

Though the ivory trade is one of the most profitable businesses in the world, and in India we find elephants in large numbers, yet the killing of them is prohibited by custom and by game preservation laws. I remember on one occasion travelling with a friend from Calcutta to Ranchi by car, and it so happened that while passing through a wild mountainous gorge we were almost overwhelmed by a small herd of jungle elephants. My companion was on the point of opening fire when the local guide warned us that the killing of an elephant was prohibited by law. In any case it would have been foolish to fire on the herd, one of which was powerful enough to blow up the car and us with it at one kick. We stopped the motor for fear of creating noise and being noticed. I am glad to add, however, that though the elephants came very near to us, yet they passed by without causing any damage.

It is notorious that elephants can be very ferocious if they wish, but they are generally sympathetic towards living beings. It is, therefore, quite justified that in the story of the film *Kalanag*, when provoked by the cruel behaviour of Ram Lal, should turn out to be so ferocious. Moreover, *Kalanag* was calmed not only because little Toomai was his rightful master, but also because of his love for the elephant.

Another prominent feature is the acting of Sabu. It is indeed an amazing thing to see a boy of his age who had had no previous screen experience making such an outstanding success in his first picture. I remember seeing him in London at an Indian restaurant, and I was struck by his intelligent appearance.

Big game hunting is a popular sport in India, but capturing elephants is more thrilling and interesting, though it is within the means of Maharajas only, who own large forest reserves.

Elephants are captured not only for their tusks, but also because they are much in demand by the Maharajas for maintaining their pomp and pageantry. In this picture we obtain a good idea of the way elephants are captured.

There is much to be said in praise of the scenery. The temple views, the partial glimpse of the Indian village life and the panoramic sights of the forest—particularly one where we see Toomai and Kalanag resting in the moonlight with wild deer in the jungle—are typical of the beautiful State of Mysore. Mysore, besides being rich in natural beauty, can well boast that under the wise rule of the present Maharaja it has garden cities famous for their green parks and fountains.

The film industry in India is making steady progress, but I am sorry to see that we seldom see good pictures like the *Elephant Boy*. I agree with those who maintain that the orientation of human themes to a planned theory of social evolution with a view to social reform fails in its purpose with an audience expecting little but entertainment in the worst sense of the word from the cinema. The cinema strictly remains an entertainment. Sex interest has displaced all other interests and values and hindered us from an appreciation or understanding of the four functions of the cinema. But *Elephant Boy* offers us quite a simple and yet an intellectual entertainment.

EDUCATION IN MUSIC*

BY H H THE MAHARANA OF DHARAMPUR

ONE can easily visualize the social importance of music when it is recalled that practically every Indian home began not so long ago and in more senses than one, its day religiously with music. I assume that like Gujarat and Kathiawar other provinces had their morning musically started with what in my part of the country we call *Prabhatus*. However that may be the very fact that Indian melodies have been distinctly classified as those composed for the different periods of the day—morning noon and night—indicates how much of the daily social life of the country was soothed and elevated by music.

Similarly the comparative study of the musical heritage of the world which has fortunately recently started has revealed the vast cultural wealth of India which could offer melodies of character inconceivable by other nations hitherto inaccessible to other nations and enriching the cultural wealth of every nation of the world.

It is true that little has been achieved to meet the primary educational needs of music. We have, for example to arrange for suitable and cheap textbooks to evolve a system of notations that could be easily employed for daily practice by students and, finally to regulate both the instruction and supply of competent teachers. But while these elementary problems are gradually being undertaken for solution by a number of individuals and institutions like the School of Indian Music which I am glad to note, has projected the publication of a series of suitably easy and cheap music textbooks they will remain more or less ineffective for the nation-wide uplift of music we are contemplating without the evolution of a definite policy of instruction in the higher grades where one could prescribe approximately the standards of music and its national objectives. This could only be achieved by securing for Indian music its legitimate University status.

EDUCATIONAL WORK OF MUSICAL INSTITUTIONS

But this recognition which will come sooner or later—the sooner it will be the better—is only part of the vast amount of constructive work which remains to be done outside the Universities the work which awaits the attention and energy of institutions like the School of Indian Music. I do not know whether there are many educational institutions of the character scope, and modern complexion of the School of Indian Music outside this province. But I think that in the Bombay Presidency at least there are few if any music institutions that are sought to be conducted on the lines that Professor Deodhar is aspiring to lay down.

* Based on the author's presidential address at the annual gathering School of Indian Music in Bombay on March 20, 1937

I am however making the request to emulate Professor Deodhar's example not without certain clear reservations

These reservations are suggested by what should be recognized as the particular national task and the responsibility of the educated. It is time that instruction in music should be systematized and popularly organized. It is necessary indispensable to collect and to classify and publish every information that we possess from the past. But it is not enough to think of the past or of the present only in the terms and outlook of the past. We have to face the present and shape it for a safe future for the vital growth of Indian music.

May I therefore, as a friend of the School of Indian Music and above all of the younger and coming generation of Indian musicians suggest that educational institutions like the School of Indian Music and intellectuals like Professor Deodhar should take up in earnest the practical solution of the problems of music peculiar to our times?

May I suggest that it is not enough important as that is in great measure, to arrange concerts academic and discursive lectures or occasional comments. The work of educational institutions like the School of Indian Music is in view of the conditions peculiar to our country quite distinct in many ways from the work of say the musical circles and societies radio clubs or gramophone companies.

It is the work of alert and advanced educational institutions of music to formulate and solve practically the problems of say choral singing. I wish the School of Indian Music would devote attention to popularize choral singing.

The questions associated with instrumental music—their varying volumes tone structure orchestration—are questions that must now be taken up without delay by the educational institutions of music.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN STATES

Lord CANNING in his despatch of 1860 observes

It was long ago said by Sir John Malcolm that if we made all India into Zillahs (British Districts) it was not in the nature of the things that our Empire should last fifty years but that if we could keep up a number of Native States without practical power but as Royal instruments we should exist in India as long as our naval superiority in Europe was maintained. Of the substantial truth of this opinion I have no doubt and recent events (of 1857) have made it more deserving of our attention than ever.

Now the Federation is the culminating point of this policy. The Princes have no control over their army. It is meant only for imperial purposes and it is under the supervision of a Military Adviser in every State. Police generally in every State is under the control of a European Inspector-General. Revenue and Finance Departments are worked by outside agencies and lent officers of the Government. The Executive Council in States that are furnished with such councils have a majority of such outside lent officers and are generally headed by chief Ministers and Vice Presidents deputed to the Indian States. Many of the Princes are now largely in a position in which they sign the Firmans of their outside advisers and councillors. After Federation they will be in receipt of not more than 10 per cent. of the total revenue of their States for their expenses and those of their household.

In these democratic days the authors of the Act should be alive to the issues. It is not too late. Let the Secretary of State for India or the Governor-General of India address the Princes by issuing open and forceful circulars to sign the instrument of accession after obtaining the approval and sanction of their people by first establishing representative form of Government and making themselves constitutional Rulers. This will not only extend the life of the Princes, but will consolidate the Federation.

G. N. SOMANI

the South of India during the period of Mussulman rule in Delhi. His further statement that Jagannatha Pandita, who lived in the time of the Mughal, Dara Shikoh, was the last of the original Sanskrit lyricists and rhetoricians would also require modification in the light of the great Sanskrit literature of the South.

The chapter on "Indian Art and Archaeology" could not have been entrusted to better hands than those of Mr. Codrington. It is a masterly survey, and although authorities may quarrel with judgments, for the ordinary reader it constitutes an excellent summary of a vast and difficult subject.

Professor Das Gupta had undoubtedly a difficult task in having to summarize the philosophic thought of India in twenty-three pages, but he has done it with undoubted ability. Unfortunately, Professor Das Gupta's style of exposition cannot be said to be lucid, and in parts he becomes, at least from the point of view of the layman, difficult to understand. Statements like the following may make sense to a trained philosopher, but it is clearly above the understanding of the ordinary reader :

"A psychical structure is a relational complex. Like other relational complexes, physical or biological, it consists of parts which are mentally separable and which can be regrouped in various relations; but awareness is homogeneous and has no parts. It is absolutely structureless and therefore unlimited and non-relational."

"It is held by the Samkhya that psychical experience is possible only through a negative failure on the part of the psychic complexes to represent in the content the distinction that exists between the guna complexes and the non-relational *purusha*."

Perhaps philosophy cannot be made a popular subject and requires a special vocabulary to understand it, and in any case Professor Das Gupta does not seem to have made any special effort to make it easy for laymen.

Mr. R. P. Masani's essay on "Caste and the Structure of Society" is an original contribution which approaches this complex subject from a new point of view. In some ways it is the most valuable study included in the book and may be strongly recommended to anyone interested in the subject.

In his chapter on "Vernacular Literatures" Mr. J. C. Ghosh shows little knowledge of literature other than his own Bengali. There is hardly anything in his essay which shows an appreciation of the modern developments in Marathi, Gujarati, Telugu, and Malayalam. The last, evidently through ignorance, he relegates to the position of an unimportant vernacular and pontifically announces that for it the modern period can hardly be said to have begun. Mr. Ghosh cannot be expected to know Malayalam or even Telugu, any more than the present writer can be expected to know Bengali, but ignorance cannot excuse a statement which could only be made as a result of knowledge. Statements like "Previous to the nineteenth century none of the vernaculars except Urdu had a secular literature" can only be the result of a very partial acquaintance with Indian languages, for certainly, at least in South Indian vernaculars, secular literature developed side by side with the religious and devotional poetry. In Malayalam, for instance, some

of the earliest known classics, like *Unnikūḥ Sandeśam*, are purely secular and at no time was language dominated by religion

The book as a whole suffers from a lack of understanding of South Indian history and literature. This is a serious handicap when it is remembered that to the Legacy of India South India has had a great deal to contribute. Perhaps this book is not exceptional in that respect. For too long a time European scholars have been inclined to look upon India south of the Vindhya as an unnecessary projection which interferes with their generalizations. How unhistorical and from the point of view of cultural inheritance, how unjust this point of view is may be judged from the fact that the

Legacy of India is conserved in better purity and greater vigour in the Peninsula than in the plains of Hindustan

ELEPHANT DANCE. By Frances Habbart Flaherty (*Faber and Faber*)
12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR HARCOURT BUTLER)

In charming letters Mrs Flaherty tells the story of the making of the film based on Toomai of the Elephants. It is sometimes suggested that films are faked at Hollywood or Elstree in safe and comfortable surroundings. This was far from being the case with this film. For some nine months Mr Flaherty was engaged with a huge staff under the direction of Mr Korda and with the active help of the Maharaja of Mysore and his officials in studying jungle life in all its aspects, through hot weather and rains under conditions of unavoidable discomfort, often of danger with accidents and failures but in the end with complete success. The story is illustrated by a series of sixty-four striking photographs and bears on every page the impress of authenticity. Those who have been privileged to see a kheddah in Mysore will be deeply interested in the account of the elaborate and skilful preparations which lead to the thrilling rush across the river into the stockade—a sight never to be forgotten. Those who love elephants will rejoice that the captives were all freed and returned to the jungle bulls and cows and the baby calves who get so much sympathy but who are rarely if ever injured by their elders even in panic-stricken rushes. The finding of Sabu, a boy in the Maharaja's elephant stables, to represent Toomai and the selection of the huge elephant Irawatha to represent Kala Nag the capture of a wild tusker the ways of the wild elephant singly or in herds the chaining of Irawatha (Kala Nag) when must or mad the movements of the elephants to resemble a dance are all portrayed in vivid but simple language. The elephant dance is one of the jungle fictions round which Kipling has woven his great story. But there is more than a picture of jungle life. The book presents scenes of rural life generally and has much to say of the beauties of Mysore, the lavish hospitality of its revered and loved Maharaja, and what goes to make Mysore a model Indian State. No one interested in India, in Indian life, in the jungle, and in elephant lore should fail to read this fascinating book.

THE INDIAN TARIFF PROBLEM IN RELATION TO INDUSTRY AND TAXATION By
Hirendra Lal Dey M.A. PH.D. (*Allen and Unwin*) 16s net.

(Reviewed by PADMANABHA PILLAI)

It is now well over a decade since India adopted a policy of discriminating protection, and the time has therefore arrived for a scientific and impartial review of the net results of that policy. Dr. Dey analyzes ably and exhaustively the consequences that have ensued from India's economic protectionism, and as his judgment is that of the anxious seeker after truth rather than that of one with preconceived notions of his own, it is to be hoped that his volume will be carefully studied by all who stand for clarity in economic thinking. It is to Dr. Dey's credit that he has had the courage to go behind the popular catchwords of the hour and subject to a rigorous scientific scrutiny the claims that have been advanced by the advocates of protection.

It may at once be stated that, while Free Trade is the ideal policy to be pursued in all countries, there are occasions when it would be both justifiable and desirable for any particular country to adopt a different policy. A country possessing great natural advantages for a particular industry might find itself handicapped at the start from the competition of fully developed rivals, and a policy of protection would be a legitimate method to broaden the basis of its economic life if the price to be paid for it by the consumer is not too high. For, as even the most extreme protectionist will have to admit, if the result of the policy is only to strengthen the economic position of a few producers at the expense of the general population, it is obvious that the nation as a whole will not be benefited. There are then two sets of questions which have to be considered before protection can be granted to any industry. The first is as to whether the industry is such as would be able to flourish without protection within a reasonably short time, and the second, whether the social cost of protection will not create distributive injustices and inequalities which may counteract whatever benefit the country may derive by the creation of a new industry.

Dr. Dey's first chapter is devoted to an examination of the social costs incidental to every protectionist policy. He shows how protection, by adding to the burden of indirect taxation, upsets the fiscal balance and accentuates the principle of regression. The burden of this increasingly regressive taxation on the masses of India could easily be imagined when we remember that already they are living on the margin of subsistence and that indirect taxes tend more and more to fall on the shoulders of those least able to bear it. Dr. Dey has examined almost all the arguments brought forward in favour of discriminating protection by the Indian Fiscal Commission, and arrives at the conclusion that the hopes entertained in that report erred on the side of undue optimism.

It is of course, difficult to pronounce on the merit of any scheme of protectionism by considering merely the economic principles involved. In dealing with any such scheme we have to go further and come to close grips with specific instances to ask whether it is likely that immediate loss will be counterbalanced by eventual gain, and what exactly are the actual

conditions of the industry in question. These are not questions to be answered through deductive reasoning in terms of yes and no they are to be answered if at all only through laborious research and by the examination of the protectionist experiment at work

Dr Dey has watched the Indian experiments as regards cotton, steel, and sugar, and is satisfied that the protectionist policy here adopted is unscientific and indefensible as regards both the principles of modern taxation and the requirements of the industry concerned he takes the view that if these industries needed any help, that help could have been more usefully rendered by a bounty than by an enhanced tariff

We hope that Dr Dey's courageously thought-out book will be seriously studied by every publicist, industrialist, and administrator interested in India

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE FROM BABAR TO AURUNGZEB By S M Jaffar B A
M R A S (London) With an Introduction by Sir Abdul Qadir
(Peshawar *Muhammed Sadiq Khan*) Rs 5

(Reviewed by JOHN KAVANAGH)

A strange *memento mori* atmosphere lies over this able and conscientious volume wherein is gathered up perhaps all that history knows of the Mughal rule in India. The dust of ages rises underfoot, rises chokingly as one treads interminably the halls and corridors of these royal palace tombs. Once again one stands as it were within the fated Escorial, among the silent ruins of Zimbabwe or in Japan amid the mighty Shogun memorials and the vanished Tokugawa. And yet this half-erie impression is very far removed from Mr Jaffar's purpose in preparing his volume—very far indeed!

As Sir Abdul Qadir in his well written Introduction remarks

Students of Indian History owe a debt of gratitude to Mr S M. Jaffar for his book. Mr Jaffar has taken pains to study the numerous books on the subject, in English, Persian and Urdu and has very ably summarized the material.

While dealing with the Muslim point of view and trying to explain actions of the Mughal Emperors which have been adversely criticized by some modern historians, Mr Jaffar does not ignore the general Indian point of view.

For instance the following remarks of his about the Emperor Jahangir are very interesting. Like his father he loved to hear Hindi songs and took delight in patronizing Hindi poets. Born in India and of Indian parents Jahangir loved things Indian and felt delighted in Indian environments.

I think it can safely be said that the author has given to the students of Indian history an accurate as well as an instructive account of the Mughal rule in India.

All of this is as just as it is true. But the impression left by Mr Jaffar's book is a sad impression, the sadness of a rain wracked sunset after a stormy day. For when all is said and done the Mughals were and to the end remained strangers in a strange land, of whose mighty works as compared with their intentions and brave efforts so little beyond traditions remains. And yet so much they gave!

The Mughal Government undertook to guard the country against external invasion, to regulate foreign policy to maintain law and order, to suppress crime to provide for the protection of life and property to disseminate justice and to protect private contracts. Apart from these, the Mughal Government performed public duties such as the fixing of coinage, regulation of trade and industry construction and maintenance of roads and highways, establishment of hospitals rest-houses, and other works of public welfare, administration of famine relief, promotion of education and encouragement of arts and literature.

Could not these very words have been written by Lord Macaulay Lord Canning, and by other mighty administrators of our own race? And that not of the Mughals but of themselves not in the past tense, but as a declaration of present and future policy? In India there are these fixed things the mountains and the forests the rivers and the plains. There is also a multitude of peoples and many pantheons of gods. In the centuries to come, who knows whether of British rule, of British ideals of British protection and justice there may be spared but one tangible symbol—Jan Nikalsain on guard still watchful still deified and worshipped, on that blood-stained plot, outside the gate of Delhi?

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE By Sir Edward Blunt (*Faber and Faber*)
8s 6d net.

(Reviewed by DR. C. COLLEN DAVIES)

Although the members of the Indian Civil Service have played a paramount part in the fashioning of British India, it was not until 1931 when Mr. L. S. O. Malley published his well written account, that the first connected history of this service appeared. Now comes Sir Edward Blunt's volume on the same subject, and we can frankly state that there is room for both books. Sir Edward's object is to explain to the British reader who has no personal knowledge of India the nature of the task which the Civil Service in India is called upon to perform. Although he makes no claim that this work is the fruit of original research the reader soon realizes that the author has had a vast and varied administrative experience, and that in chapters which could very well have been produced by the armchair historian passages occur which could only have been written by a man who had spent the best years of his life in close contact with the peoples and problems of India. It is therefore a book which should be studied by every young civilian before proceeding to take up his duties in the East. It is also the most lucid constitutional history of India that the reviewer has yet come across and can be safely recommended in preference to more pretentious works. Many retired civilians are prone to glorify the past, to regret the departure of the good old days and to look askance at a younger generation of officials with whom because of their age they are somewhat out of touch. Many stress the fact that the Service under the new Constitution must lose its unique character of a small body of British officers entrusted with the administration of a great country, while some

go so far as to contend that nowadays India offers no prospects to ambitious and adventurous young men. If the prospective reader fears that he may find this kind of argument in the pages of Sir Edward's fascinating volume he will be sorely disappointed for the author holds and this is the main thesis of his work that India still requires a British element in her administration. If it be true that in the past India called for the best type that could be found, it is even more true of the future for we have now reached a stage where if the new constitutional experiment is to succeed quality must make up for quantity. The civilian of the future must possess *personality adaptability and the quality of mental alertness*. Above all he must be free from all traces of racial prejudice. To justify its existence the I.C.S. must be more than ever before a *corps d'élite*. We want said Lord Willingdon in a recent speech young men with enterprise imagination a sense of responsibility and sympathy with the aspirations of the people of the country, men who are ready to take their part in what is still the finest and most interesting Service that there is in any part of the British Empire.

The most valuable part of the book is the detailed and attractively written description of the work and duties of a civil servant, for it is the never ending variety of India with its different languages races and customs that fills his life with interest. Administrator revenue expert, judge secretary diplomat—all these offices have been and still are filled by members of this Service while rural development and broadcasting are likely to lead to the creation of new departments and duties. Under the pressure of modern conditions the district officer is confined for long periods to his office, but, if he is not to lose touch with the people entrusted to his care arrangements will have to be made to reduce his desk work. Lord Linlithgow has already promised to effect this necessary change for upon the energy and personal character of this official depends the efficiency of Indian administration. The author sees a great future for the new recruit in the political department as a member of which he may find himself posted to Kabul or Katmandu, to Gyantse or Meshed to Muscat or Kashgar. As a political officer he may be fortunate enough to take part in a frontier campaign or may be sent on a mission to Lhasa. What more can a young man hope for?

In the pages of this book the would-be civilian will find much useful information and advice. He will learn what to expect in India from his earliest duty of chasing *patwaris* to the days when he may sit in the seats of the mighty. He will be initiated into the mysteries of *peshis* and *sauvalkhana* and will discover that a few remarks about the peasant's crops are as safe a conversational gambit in India as the weather in this country. Of one thing he can be certain. Under the new Constitution he will not be called upon to act as an official legislator. And what of the future? All the old safeguards and some new ones are there—the stronger perhaps because they are definitely laid down in a statute which Parliament alone can alter.

A few minor slips will require correction in future editions. The account, on p. 65, of the powers of the Supreme Council over the subordinate pres-

dencies is incorrect, because it fails to note the dangerous loophole provided by the ninth clause of the Regulating Act. The States included in the United Provinces are now in immediate political relations with the Government of India and not, as stated on p. 173, with the provincial government. The origin of the office of *kanungo* is uncertain, and it cannot be maintained (*vide* p. 100) that it owed its inception to Akbar. Neither is the statement, on p. 128 that Akbar's revenue system was continued without material change by his three successors correct. Akbar's immediate successors departed from the main principles of his rule and we know for certain that by the reign of Aurangzeb the revenue demand had been raised from one-third to one-half of the gross produce. But these are minor points and in no way detract from the value of this up-to-date account of the Service of which the author was a distinguished member.

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE. By K. A. C. Creswell. (Clarendon Press)
Twelve guineas

(Reviewed by ARTHUR UPHAM POPE.)

This sumptuous publication constitutes a landmark in the history of Near Eastern studies. Architecture was ever the mistress art. It provides the most revealing permanent reflection of the life of any people. It expresses deep and characteristic ideals. It is a dependable record of cultural development, of political vicissitudes, measures the contributions of the great personalities and mirrors the interchange of cultural influences. In it theology, religion and government find a home, other arts their opportunity.

The architecture of Islam is of peculiar importance. It is a witness to the diffusion and the potency of a faith that has been one of the outstanding factors in history. It produced a variety of masterpieces that are to be found scattered from Samarkand to Cordova and from Kiev to Zanzibar and Malaya. It played a vital rôle in the development of the architecture of many other regions with which it was affiliated, receiving some giving more. Its relations to the architecture of Europe have yet to be determined with precision, but we know enough to realize that they were of primary importance and that neither Romanesque nor probably Gothic architecture can be fully understood without reference to Near Eastern contributions.

This architecture as a whole has yet to be adequately studied. It has been the subject of admirable monographs which are gratefully known to all scholars in the field, but of systematic, thoroughly grounded and comprehensive research and exposition we have had, until the present, none. Hence the work of Professor Creswell is an event of outstanding cultural importance, indispensable to the general student of Near Eastern culture as well as to the architect and art historian.

For it has been conceived with an amplitude and been carried through

with a resolution and self-sacrificing adherence to the severest standards that are indeed rare in historical works in our time. Terms for the high rating of books have been used with such negligence and even irresponsibility, an imprudent excess of praise has so often been lavished on mediocre accomplishments, that when a really outstanding performance is achieved there are available for its appraisal only words that have been weakened and compromised. This book represents a quality of workmanship that some had despaired of in our generation and is certain to have a tonic and inspiring influence on all relevant undertakings.

The boldness, almost exceeding prudence, with which it was envisaged and the resolute, almost fanatical adherence to the standards set are a tribute to character and a proof of what can be accomplished granted sufficient determination. Such works are usually undertaken on the commission of a government or a heavily endowed foundation. This work was Professor Creswell's own personal plan, and although he received acknowledgment and assistance for it from his late Majesty King Fuad and a few other patrons of scholarship which he generously acknowledges the achievement remains as was the effort very largely a personal one. Harassed at many turns by uncertainty with all its beguiling temptation to compromise quality and to find escape in relaxed ideals, it has been a fifteen year effort which only those who have had direct experience of similar enterprises can fully gauge.

The work is magnificently presented by the Oxford University Press. The type is dignified, handsome, readable, the paper of the finest the text illuminated by large colotype plates of photographs for which the author has long been famous. If these are sometimes too dark they are on the whole of superior quality. Additional half tone plates scattered through the text are uniformly brilliant and many of the detail drawings are of the best. The plans are clear, impeccable and, there is every reason to believe, wholly dependable. There is an ample and admirably arranged table of contents.

Every device that the author could contrive to add lucidity to the presentation and to make it available for use and study has been employed. The scale of the drawings is in a simple decimal multiple permitting them to be taken off instantly with a centimetre measure, and even the photographs when presenting a flat view have been reproduced to a measured scale so that they can often be used almost as measured drawings, a precision for which students will be constantly grateful.

Professor Creswell has resolutely aimed at perfection and at no point voluntarily yielded. Where specialists have been needed to complete some recalcitrant aspect of the work he has called on them. Thus Miss Marguerite van Berchem has provided in about a hundred pages a detailed and authoritative description of the mosaics in the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque at Damascus for which she deserves great credit. The zodiacal motifs in the decoration of Qasr Amr have been dealt with by Professor F. Saxl and Dr. Beer.

Professor Creswell has himself laid under service all the relevant documents in a half dozen languages with a thoroughness rarely achieved. He apparently knows well everything written that refers to any of his problems,

and he appends to each chapter a detailed bibliography of vast range exhaustive dependable organized with judgment and good sense, which is in itself a notable accomplishment

Few books have been so fortified by footnotes. Sometimes minor points have been pressed with a luxurious not to say desperate, completeness. The history of lesser errors that concerning the height of Mount Zion, for instance, has been followed through centuries and in all its divagations until the whole process of such myth making is bleakly exposed, not a superfluous task because it furnishes a striking warning of the means by which mistakes are established and propagated. The erroneous belief that the Aqṣā Mosque was originally a church is similarly traced through some fifty-six publications, beginning at the end of the fifteenth century (p. 23 n. 2). At some points however the lavishness of detail may seem overdone. One reaches occasionally a point of diminishing returns: the time and effort involved for both author and reader being disproportionate to the results. Yet this very inclusiveness does give a feeling of confidence that nothing essential has been omitted and imparts to the work something of the character of an encyclopedia or dictionary.

All the important architectural forms, such as the pendentive, the pointed arch, various types of vaults, and the minaret are discussed with a lucid, compact and searching historical exposition—a blessing to the young student and grateful enough, because of new knowledge and ideas brought to bear to the most hardened professional. Each problem of dating is considered with a fullness which would satisfy an exacting pedant. Every view is formulated, and although Professor Creswell frequently has occasion roundly to abuse some of his predecessors sometimes immoderately his presentations of their statements are always just.

His castigations are frequently it must be said well deserved as when he makes plain Rivoira's heated partisanship which lead him to the frequent distortion of fact. But to say Strzygowski in an article which I have already characterized as a tissue of absurdities (p. 81) is a little too strong in speaking of a provocative mind which has vitalized research in the history of Near Eastern art so profoundly that no one can now write or even think in this field without acknowledging his presence or to say of him. Never was a theory constructed on such a flimsy basis (p. 55), is unnecessary after Professor Creswell has already so carefully demonstrated the truth of his criticism. The task before historians of Near Eastern art is too complicated and heat generating animosities and jealousies too easily stirred for any of the conventional courtesies that hold between scholars who honestly err not to be sustained. For insincerities or falsifications of fact there is no scourge too merciless.

The whole character of the architectural effort of Islam and its cultural origins are set forth in an incisive and economical manner and to a great many readers this will be a revelation for basing his case squarely on the soundest historical researches and making full use of the magnificent achievements of Caetani and other historians, the author expounds the beginnings of Islamic architecture in a way that destroys many old familiar and comfortable fallacies. But in obliterating them for all time he makes it

possible to present a much more intelligible picture of its formation than could be constructed on the now discredited theory of a substantial Arab contribution

He depicts Muhammad's indifference to all architecture, the meagre character of the first mosques, which soon became the forum of Islam, but started as little more than general meeting places where a crowd could congregate, prisoners be bound, entertainments be given, as well as prayers said and sermons preached and where, of course, all the administrative business of the primitive community could be controlled. The Arabia out of which Islam issued is so clearly shown to have been a complete architectural vacuum that further discussion is superfluous.

Nowhere can we find in so brief a form such an admirable statement of the influence of social factors on early Islamic architecture.

There is a brilliant and authoritative description of Muhammad's own house, which began as a private residence and only gradually assumed its public function. Many other critical factors are similarly set forth, not only with real historical insight, but in an admirable narrative style that makes exciting reading—a merit too infrequently associated with the more stately monuments of scholarship.

The Mosque of Amr in Cairo sanctified by many guide-books as the oldest in Islam now disappears into the limbo from which it ought never to have been summoned. This building built, rebuilt, added to and rebuilt again, as Professor Creswell says, should never be mentioned in any serious discussion of early Muslim architecture (p. 81).

There are a number of controversial issues familiar to the professionals in the field which are finished off by the author with a decisive finality burying them deep under economical verbal epitaphs well calculated to keep them permanently quiescent. In dealing with the Mosque of al Walid in Damascus Professor Creswell convincingly solves the complex problems concerning the original state of the building. The Persian contribution to the building is somewhat slighted but by the author's own documents (p. 101) it must have been considerable, for Persian workmen were among those assembled for the work and one of the two architects was a Persian Ubaid ibn Hurmuz. Miss Berchem also slights various unmistakable Persian elements in the patterns of the mosaics. The Egyptian work which Alfradito ordered at the Damascus mosque in 709 was also executed under the direction of a Persian, Vazid ibn Tamim. Professor Creswell has not done full justice to the Eastern sources of some of the motifs structural and ornamental perhaps because so relatively little is still known of the character of Persian architecture and its decoration. When the full history of Sāsānian architecture and ornament are written there is reason to think that it may well prove to have had more effect even on Syria than Professor Creswell has indicated.

Professor Creswell's appreciation of the mosaics uncovered a few years ago in the court of this mosque is most enthusiastic and perhaps a little wanting in his usual critical detachment, a forgivable fault in the presence of these handsome panels. The details and colours in the small compositions are indeed superb, but the larger ones suffer from an incoherence, a

deficiency in rhythm and construction, and a lack of relation to the space ornamented which *compromise their claim to the highest rank*

There has long been a question as to whether any structure was built on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem after it had been devastated by Titus in 70 or whether the Dome of the Rock was begun there quite *de novo*. Professor Creswell's decision, which has the air of finality that there was no intervening structure is a model of tight reasoning effective use of documents and succinct expression. The Dome of the Rock is indisputably one of the world's great buildings and Professor Creswell's treatment makes this evident. All the paraphernalia of his vast scholarship is brought to bear like a great arsenal on the problems of stylistic origin and its date. His conclusions that it is really an Islamic structure, Umayyad work of about 692, and neither a Byzantine original nor imitation seem unchallengeable even if a little rigidly and mechanically expressed. Moreover he has dealt with the complex and baffling plan in an illuminating way and shown how interference of the two concentric zones of columns which would have robbed the view of richness and impressiveness has been avoided by a slight torsion of the two component series in such a way as to bring the significant elements of each into view at the same time and the puzzling problem of measuring a building with so many mutually interrupting elements has been solved with an ingenuity that every surveyor and draughtsman will admire.

Mahattā that handsome but colossally difficult desert monument with its encyclopaedic repertoire of animal and foliate ornament, which has been such a thorny thicket of controversy ever since it was discovered is by Professor Creswell's patient accuracy and lucidity cleared of as many of its ambiguities as possible. He concludes agreeing with Musil (and who will challenge?) that it was probably the building begun by Walid II and interrupted by his death in 743/4 (p. 403). Some may think that Professor Creswell has recounted the controversies and opinions at too great length, but we must be grateful for thoroughness even when it becomes at points tedious.

Another charming little desert castle Qusayr Amra built for one of the Arab rulers who were still at heart nomads and loved hunting in the open desert quite as much as the perfumed luxury of the court was for a time one of the archaeological mysteries. For this the author has provided a summary discussion that may well be regarded as definitive.

In his discussions of the Mosque of al Wahd the ornament of the Dome of the Rock Mahattā and Qusayr Amra a larger Iranian participation should, in the view of some scholars, have been recognized and this applies likewise to a few of the specific problems. The author seems certain that the pointed arch of which the earliest extant example is at Qasr Ibn Wardān is a Syrian invention. It is true that this structure which can be dated 561 does show a pointed arch albeit the point is so slight that its very existence was denied until Professor Creswell himself by his own impeccable measurements took the question permanently out of dispute. But it is not safe to assume that the present lack of prior or contemporary monuments with pointed arches in Mesopotamia and Persia means that they never existed.

Not one in a hundred, perhaps not in a thousand, of the sixth-century monuments in this part of the world remains standing

Moreover the fact that round and elliptical arches have continued in use together in Persia down to the present day is proof that the two forms can go together so that the existence of one does not exclude the possibility of the other and, as Professor Schapiro has already pointed out, Qasr Ibn Wardān is a brick structure in a stone-building culture, obviously intrusive in Syria, but thoroughly at home in Mesopotamia and Persia Is it not, he asks, significant that the first appearance of the pointed arch should be in this structure rather than one in the tradition indigenous to Western Asia?*

The discovery by Dr Erich Schmidt of a still unpublished building in Luristan, while making an archaeological survey there for the Holmes Expedition of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology with an unmistakable pointed arch on the central axis, combined with distinct Sāsānian features in the general plan and in the building materials and methods, raises again the possibility that the pointed arch may have found a prior application in Iran Nor can we disregard the hunt on the Sāsānian bronze salver in the Staatliche Museen Berlin with its precise representation of a building the portal of which is an arch with an elevated point, and a similar form on a Sāsānian silver plate in the Hermitage Museum showing the siege of a fortress These, and the false pointed arches in the upper course of the back of the Taq i Kisra façade should not be overlooked for they are an unmistakable proof that the form at least as a visual image, was familiar to and approved by Persian builders well before the close of the Sāsānian epoch.

The most exacting taste might find even the occasional use of the word

I a little inappropriate in a monumental work that has the qualities of universality and permanence and which in itself since it is the creation of a single individual, is in every line an acknowledgment of the author's handiwork and personality Professor Creswell a little too often intrudes the personal pronoun and tells us what he is about to do or has done, and even speaks of "a remarkable confirmation of my theory" a quite superfluous self-congratulation in his case The author is not thinking of himself but of the idea and would have said the same if the point confirmed had been urged by a colleague, but the form of the statement might be regretted by a purist.

It must not be inferred from the authoritative and in many respects definitive character of this work, which of necessity becomes the foundation of every subsequent effort in the field, that nothing is left to be done in the history of early Islamic architecture There are a number of minor issues concerning which there are two opinions, and a few questions of fact on which the author might be challenged But aside from such discrepancies there remains a grave problem of the ultimate aim of architectural history and of the method or methods by which this end is to be realized Occasionally the arguments seem to imply too great confidence in the statistical and analytic approach to solve the problem of architectural character and at

* Meyer Schapiro in *The Art Bulletin* XVII (1935), p 112.

times Professor Creswell seems to be siding with the mechanists, for example in seeking to express accurately the sources or cultural origins of some very complex and individual structures

But the aim of the book was precisely defined and as definitely limited. He is primarily concerned with an exact description of each monument, including an analysis of structure, its complete history and the origins of the forms that it embodies. He has given more than he promised. Yet there are other and essential approaches to the problems of architectural history. These are not in the author's programme and he legitimately ignores them but perhaps he does not adequately recognize their importance, an importance that needs to be constantly stressed for it is in danger of being obscured by the pseudo-science of meagre and prosaic minds.

The attempt to identify the ingredients of a building and to express numerically the proportions of each is a legitimate historical exercise but one very limited in use and application and unless its limitations are acknowledged it may lead to deception. For a work of art is far more than the sum of its parts and such a method involves an untenable theory of the nature of architecture as one of the fine arts. Organization is not an additive process and a superb æsthetic unity like the Dome of the Rock is not like a poem pronounced in three languages even though it does owe elements to several sources. No inventory of its structural factors reveals the source of its psychological power.

The error is a common one and favoured by pseudo-scientific tendencies in much of the *Kunstforschung* of the day with its naive dependence upon the exploded fallacies of empiricism and materialism. This is in effect, a kind of obscurantism concealing the essential character of the work of art, frequently contenting itself with research that straggles out in the sandy deltas of non-essentials. The integrity of personality and singleness of will, of which the Dome of the Rock is such a moving expression must of necessity forever elude the mechanistic approach.

Nor are such summary terms in any way extravagant or mystical. To each can be assigned a precise and controllable meaning. Interesting as is the identification of the elements and indispensable as such analyses must always be, it is their employment and transmutation by a system of inclusive relations which gives them their value and their reality as members of an æsthetic whole.

Professor Creswell is aware of the insufficiency of the statistical method warns us against its crudity, and is himself intensely conscious of the profound beauty of the great buildings. But he offers us no technique for discovering or expressing it, and reduced by a curious vagary that so frequently victimizes the hard-headed and practical frustrated by the incapacity of the analytical and mechanical approach to express the beauty of the whole, he at one place takes refuge in a romantic numerology that is bad mathematics and worse æsthetics and as an explanation of the Dome of the Rock is hardly more than an incantation (p. 50). The actual passage is as follows:

Some of the ratios involved such as the square root of two (as in the Dome of the Rock), and especially that which the diameter of a circle

bears to its circumference which enters into the equation of movement of everything in space, nay further into the equation of movement of the very electrons of the atom itself are fundamentals in time and space, they go right down to the very basis of our own nature and of the physical universe in which we live and move and may very well appeal to us subconsciously

That the entire book would be searched in vain for any comparable example of Homer nodding is proof of the merit of the work. It is significant as a witness of the necessity for dealing with the æsthetic significance of a monument and the difficulty of finding the appropriate method. It is certain that physics and mathematics have little to say.

Beyond the listing of the physical components and the identification of their cultural origins lies the question of what was the visual and emotional effect intended. By what organization of volumes composition of forces and movements, both real and implied in how far and by what means realized by what manipulation of light, by what adroit rhythms plain and hidden is sovereign harmony achieved?

Such questions are not Professor Creswell's primary concern and he might with good reason affirm that, however central such tasks of synthesis and interpretation may be they must await first the establishment of the physical facts and their history as well as the foundation of an æsthetics of architecture which does not yet exist. But the history of architecture will not get beyond the history of engineering until architecture is also recognized as a fine art, and treated by methods which are alone competent to its essential character.

Yet it is hardly fair to ask that one author shall be a master of both these essential types of investigation—mutually although irregularly related as they seem to be. In all fairness it is enough to ask and a just cause for gratitude and esteem that Professor Creswell should have accomplished the almost heroic task of laying a foundation of fact so broad and so secure that it will amply sustain whatever structure subsequent investigation and reflection need to build upon it. Volume I of *Early Muslim Architecture* is a great achievement, and there is every reason to think that Volume II will surpass it.

EDEN.—THE BIBLICAL PARADISE. By Lieut-Colonel W. H. Lane (Edinburgh. *The Riverside Press*) 2s. 6d. net.

The author who has taken the keenest interest in geology and made a profound study of Biblical geology here gives the results of his researches into the problem of the location of the Garden eastward in Eden.

In connection with the archaeological references to Sumerian data made in the book Colonel Lane can speak with field experience at Kush. Moreover he served for some years in Mesopotamia.

The author considers that the Sumerian and the Biblical Flood are identical, and in the same chapter makes interesting reference to recent floods such as that of the Indus in 1841 and the subsidence in 1819 of the western border of the Rann of Cutch.

"The actual situation of the Garden of Eden he writes must have been absolutely unique in the history of the world. The more its location is examined the more does the nature of its most extraordinary geographical prominence become apparent.

In another place he asks: Can we then visualize the abode of the human race in the Garden of Eden? And he adds: The picture we can draw is that of mankind firmly established in a paradise situated at the very hub of the known universe—a paradise prolific in the fertility of its soil and in the abundance of its terrestrial fauna.

FAR EAST

THE BIRTH OF CHINA. By Hewlee Glessner Creel (*Jonathan Cape*) 15s. net.

In *The Birth of China* Hewlee Glessner Creel has set out to give us a survey of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization. This is a modest understatement. The book gives a history of Chinese cultures from Neolithic times until the end of the Chou Dynasty in such a form as has never been attempted before. It deals in turn with the origins of the state, sculpture, bronze, literature, in fact, with all that is known firstly of the Shang and then of the Chou Dynasty as revealed by the light of modern research and excavation.

The book would be welcome and would cover new ground even if it did not contain information of the latest archaeological discoveries in North China. But these latter discoveries are not added to an otherwise complete book; they are interwoven in such a way as to bring past scholarship up to date. It replaces no other book because the information previously available could only be collected by referring to various separated papers and articles.

Resemblances between the decorative *motifs* of the Shangs and of the North American Indians previously remarked upon elsewhere are again discussed with more confidence but still with a great deal of caution. The human remains discovered at Auyang have put an end to the theory that the Shangs were an alien people to China; the skulls are of a Mongoloid race and resemble those of the North American Indians.

The search for a Pacific origin for these cultures seems to the present writer to be less hopeful. For although resemblances between the decorative *motifs* of China, North America, Mexico, and even of South America may be traced, Polynesia lacks evidence of ever having been a centre and origin of such cultures. The geometric centre of gravity may lie somewhere in the Pacific, but there is less evidence to show that the culture spread from the Pacific to China than that it was carried southwards in waves of migrations from Central Asia and then by outrigger canoes across the Pacific.

The whole book is so well condensed and admirably written that it must surely be indispensable to all who are interested in China. It will keep as a book of reference that is a pleasure to read.

A D B

FICTION

FIGHTING ANGEL By Pearl Buck (*Methuen*) 7s 6d. net

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN)

Not a few fathers may be uneasily thankful that their daughters are not gifted with Mrs Pearl Buck's ruthless insight and literary skill *Fighting Angel* is a companion piece to that exquisite and tender picture of Mrs Buck's mother *The Exile* helplessly dragged through the mire of China by her missionary husband. This husband the *Fighting Angel* was an extraordinary combination of iron sternness and the most childlike simplicity. He was one of seven brothers, harsh, obstinate, quarrelsome men like their father—

Auld, auld Elliotts

Clay-cauld Elliotts

Dour bauld Elliotts of auld

All became ministers but Andrew (the angel) alone went as a missionary. Thenceforward he had but one thought—to save souls. He knew neither fear, fatigue, nor discomfort for himself or for anyone about him. He went from his wife's deathbed instantly to resume his work of translating the New Testament into Chinese. Incidentally Chinese souls were the only ones that interested him, he never inquired about his family's. He fought furiously with his brother missionaries, themselves ready enough for a fight, but invariably defeated by Andrew's going his own way which to him was the only conceivable way. He was a perfect embodiment of the fanatic—a person who does what he believes Providence would do if He knew all the circumstances of the case.

Mrs Buck has given us an enthralling book—a perfect piece of character study and incidentally of China viewed from a new angle. But again and again one revolts at a system which allows a man to drag wife and children into such a life as Andrew chose. The only time in the book when one feels like clapping one's hands is when Carrie revolts at living any longer in the foul inn that Andrew had chosen because no one would rent them a house (she had already buried three children and the life of another was trembling) and went off to healthier quarters on the Yangtze.

You can preach from Peking to Canton but I and these little children will never go with you any more, she said.

It was all that Andrew wanted to do.

THE BACHELOR OF ARTS By R. K. Narayan (*Thomas Nelson and Sons*) 7s 6d. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS)

This is a story of a young Hindu at his University and afterwards till the eve of his marriage. It is told in a simple way that avoids the tendency of Indian writers to overload their work with detail and fall into the flowery trap of metaphor. His portraiture of an Indian family has the stark beauty of a landscape in winter. There is a bareness, yet sufficiency, of description.

which involves melancholy but no bitterness, and very little of the fatalism that so often underlies the Indian character. The whole is lightened by a pervading and unforced humour that is refreshing and the tale grips the interest of its reader.

Chandran, the student, is drawn with all the bewilderment and enthusiasm of youth and his development is handled with sympathetic understanding. Personalities and episodes remain in the memory after the book is closed. Chandran's life at college, his austere yet kindly father, the idyll of the girl Malathi seen at evening by the river, his period of disillusionment as a *sanyasi* and finally the return to normality and work. It is a book that deserves to be widely read for it shows well and clearly one facet of a vast and many-sided country that of a family steadfast to its centuries-old tradition, though faced with ever-encroaching modernity.

GENERAL

TWENTY-ONE WEEKS IN EUROPE (1930) By the Raja of Bhor (Published at Bhor)

This interesting account (of over five hundred pages) by an Indian Prince, who was fifty-two years of age at the time of his first visit, records the pleasant impressions of English life gathered during three months, a considerable portion of which was spent in the Metropolis. The author proved himself a tireless sightseer, dividing his time between the museums, public buildings, sports fixtures, and the inspection of educational establishments. Detailed reference is made to the afternoon reception held under the auspices of the East India Association in July 1930 at which he addressed a large audience on the subject of the Indian Princes and the Indian Constitution which was published in the *Asiatic Review* (October 1930).

There follows an account of his journey to the Continent, commencing with France in a chapter headed 'The Land of Freedom' another being entitled 'The International City and the League of Nations'. Throughout the book reveals the judgment of an acute and mature mind.

PERIODICALS

BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR PERSIAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

There has just been published a new number of the *Bulletin* of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology (vol. iv No. 4) which, faithful to its now well established tradition of presenting new discoveries and vital analyses in the field of Persian art, provides us with a new series of brilliant articles.

Professor Monneret de Villard in an impressive article of great importance for the history of Christian Church archaeology traces the evolution of the Sassanian fire temple from its origins in the fourth century A.C., in the Achaemenid building at Susa, and in the Nabatzan temple of the first

century. He skilfully employs some of the latest discoveries of Professor Herzfeld and presents for the first time all the known material on the subject in a clear systematic, and penetrating analysis.

Dr Phyllis Ackerman leads us through the complex of magic iconography into a new world of pre- and proto-historic culture, apparently antedating the classical Iranian sun worship. It is the moon culture with its central cow-moon Fertility Goddess *Drvaspa*. The seals of Elam and of Mohenjodaro in the Indus Valley (third millennium B.C.) and the bronzes from Luristan (about 1000 B.C.) crystallize that iconographic complex, the roots of which stretch to the secret of a collective magic-sexual existence and to the drama of primitive economic struggles as related to that of the cosmos.

Pointing to the close relations between Iran and the Middle East, Dr Alexander Strelkov discusses a square bronze tabouret with a procession of canine animals in the round along the edge of the top in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, found in Semurechye (Russian Turkistan), aligning it with similar objects in Russian collections. Dr Strelkov comes to the conclusion that it was a Zoroastrian fire altar, dated not later than the second or third century A.D. His thesis is amplified in a note by Dr Ackerman, who provides us with further important evidence consisting of actual objects and literary references.

The Soviet architect L. Rempel gives a very detailed mass-spatial and ornamental analysis of the mausoleum of Isma'il the Samanid, in Bukhara, one of the most remarkable buildings of Central Asia of the Early Islamic period (about 900 A.D.) a study which is accompanied by excellent photographs and careful plans. The main architectural features of the monument, such as the gallery and the pointed arch, are studied in the light of their occurrence in preceding and following buildings. Of special interest is the presence of some embryonic functional Gothic elements in that mausoleum.

The richly decorated inscription in the *Masjid-i-Jami* in Qazvin, built in 1113 (or 1115), forms the subject of an article by Mr Arthur Upham Pope, which by its careful analysis actually represents a survey of Seljuq floral ornament. Tracing its beginning down to the Sasanian time and to the decoration in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, he shows its final and supreme achievement in the simple yet complex Seljuq pattern proclaiming an important new message: the tri-dimensionality of the spatial treatment of the Iranian ornament.

M. André Godard, the Director of Antiquities of the Government of Iran, solves an age-old riddle. Following literary information, he was able to find the tomb of the great Safavid Shah Abbas I (1589-1628) in a mausoleum in Kashan. The part of the inscription on the tomb slab bearing his name was deliberately effaced during the Afghan invasion to protect the monument from destruction, but the tradition of its history was still kept alive among the guardians of the shrine.

A recently found Persian manual on the manufacture of pottery in Kashan, from the year 1300, is used by Dr Kurt Erdmann, Berlin, for the identification of an overglaze painted double-fired Persian pottery type. The last article concludes a discussion by Dr Richard Ettinghausen, started in an earlier *Bulletin*, of some newly discovered ceramics with lustre paint.

Reviews and Notices

ing signed or bearing dates of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston and the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington

An exhaustive review of the first fascicule of *Athar-t Iran* the new publication of the Archaeological Service of Iran, full of critical contributions both in the field of methodology and architectural data concludes the *Bulletin*

LA QUINZAINÉ COLONIALE (Paris *Union Coloniale Française*) No 736
3 50 francs

The present issue contains an interesting suggestion made by M Georges Hersent on the occasion of the reading of a paper by Colonel Amery at the Academy of Colonial Sciences of the University of Paris His proposal was that every year between a thousand and two thousand professors and teachers should visit some of the near lying colonies and would thus provide very quickly on their return the means for the spread of the colonial idea The author foresaw in this connection the happiest results for the more rapid development and greater prosperity of the French Colonial Empire The speaker also stressed the importance of maintaining a colonial tradition which assured the steady flow to the overseas possessions of all that was best in the intellectual and professional talents of France.

The same issue contains an article on the coconut tree in Ceylon, and a comprehensive series of book reviews.

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